

STUDIES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

(1740-1919)

*Written in accordance with the Syllabus of the
Three-Year Degree Students*

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PREFACE

An examiner awards excellent marks to a simple, precise and clear answer. Therefore, an answer to a question should not be ambiguous and full of undigested quotations. It is in the light of this consideration that this book has been written. The author of this book has taken help from some text books prescribed for the B. A. course (Honours and Pass) in different Universities of India and has selected his period from 1740 to 1919. The main emphasis has naturally been laid upon the affairs of Europe. Nevertheless the book includes a few questions on the history of U.S.A., China and Japan. It is hoped, the book will afford useful guidance to B. A. (Honours and Pass) students. His deepest respects go to Professor Susobhan Chandra Sarkar, M.A. (Cal. & Oxon), formerly Head of the Department of History, Jadavpur University, who has inspired and taught generations of students like the author. He has also to record with the greatest pleasure his sincerest thanks to Professor Subrata Gupta, M.A. of Jogmaya Devi College for whose active assistance and ungrudging financial support this book is introduced to the reading public. Thanks are also due to Sri Jotis Chandra Gupta.

B. S. D.

Midnapore College
1st January, 1926

Q. 1. What was the political background of 1740 ?

In the year 1740 Frederick the Great of Prussia was enthroned. But it was significant from other standpoints. The peace of Westphalia registered the ascendancy of France and Sweden, of the Bourbons and the Vasas. The aggressions of France were directed mainly against the Hapsburgs while those of Sweden against the other Baltic powers. So the task before Europe was to maintain balance of power in order to counteract the aggressions of these two powers.

By 1715 Europe endeavoured to solve these problems. The Treaty of Utrecht frustrated the ambition of the Bourbons. After the death of Louis XIV France ceased to be the centre of Europe. The beginning of the eighteenth century also witnessed the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne. Thus peaceful settlement of the succession problem enabled England to devote her attention to commercial and colonial expansion. By 1721 in the Treaty of Nystadt Sweden lost her last foothold in Germany and a struggle for bare existence began for her.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century Europe was confronted with the spectacle of new aggressive powers, Russia and Prussia. Their aggressions resulted in the extinction of Poland. Turkey instead of being an aggressor became a prey to her neighbouring states. The decline of Turkey heralded the Eastern question. The colonial struggle between France and England reached an acute stage.

The political theories also underwent a great change. The predominance of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Pope became a thing of the past. The contradiction between rationalism and despotism was visibly accentuated by the emergence of the philosophy of reason in France. The Ancient Regime of the pre-revolutionary period with its divine right theory of kingship gradually came under the

light of searching criticism. Moreover, inter-states relationships were increasingly being regulated by the emergence of international laws by different treaties and congresses and treatises beginning with Grotius.

The last half of the eighteenth century witnessed three revolutions one in the realm of diplomacy i. e., Diplomatic Revolution which changed the interstate relationships, two, in the realm of Economics, i.e., Industrial Revolution which changed the economic affairs of the European states and lastly, the French Revolution that also revolutionised socio—political structure of France and Europe at large,

Q. 2. Describe the political background of Prussia. What were the causes of the spectacular emergence of Prussia ?

To hold in check the Slavic tribes of Wends a military outpost was planted by the German Emperors in Brandenburg. In 1415 Emperor Sigismund gave the mark of Brandenburg to Frederick of Hohenzollern and made it an electorate. Brandenburg became a protestant state in the 16th century. The Duchy of Prussia was under the suzerainty of the king of Poland. After the extinction of the line of Albert of Hohenzollern Brandenburg joined Prussia and Cleves in 1611.

In 1640 Frederick William, the Great Elector ascended the throne. He obtained valuable additions of territory including Magdeburg, Eastern Pomerania by the Treaty of Westphalia. He endeavoured to secure the territorial continuity of his Baltic possessions at the expense of Sweden and Poland. He obtained a brilliant victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin in 1675 and drove them out of Pomerania. He made his kingdom a centralised military state in which the power of the crown was absolute. Another great ruler was Frederick William (1713-1740). His reign is memorable for the creation of an efficient army and establishment of a bureaucratic administration. Frederick joined England and France in the League of Hanover in 1725. But next year he joined the Emperor and

supported the Pragmatic Sanction in return for the Emperor's promise to support the claim of Prussia to the duchies of Julich and Berg. But he was tricked by the Emperor. He died in 1740 and left his well-trained son Frederick the Great to exact prompt vengeance from Maria Theresa, the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI.

The spectacular emergence of Prussia under Frederick the Great was due to several favourable factors. First, geographical position of the two duchies, its mineral resources and climate and nature of the soil prepared a reserved fund for a large standing army. Second, the people of the electorate were industrious and loyal. Mirabeau said, "Prussia is not a people that has an army but an army that has a people." Therefore, third factor was the strong military organisation and efficient military training made by the monarchs. Fourth, Frederick also obtained an efficient and loyal bureaucracy and a reserved treasury. He had also a tradition of glories and triumphs and a succession of strong, able kings behind him. And lastly, Frederick was confronted with the gradual decline of her neighbouring states like Poland, Sweden and Austria that greatly favoured his position.

Q. 3. (a) Sketch the career of Frederick the Great, Discuss the home and foreign policy of Frederick.

(b) Carlyle calls Frederick the Great "the last of kings for there was none after him as great as he." Do you agree ?

The reign of Frederick the Great was the turning-point in the history of Prussia and of Germany as a whole. In 1740 he ascended the throne when inexperienced Maria Theresa obtained the crown of Austria. Lacking in administrative cohesion with an inefficient army and corrupted bureaucracy Maria had to face a rejuvenated state under Frederick. But the factors for making greatness of Frederick, unique geographical position, efficient and loyal bureaucracy, invincible army, reserved treasury and a glorious tradition prepared grounds for the future greatness

of Prussia. In his infancy he had deep thirst for literature, music and art. But under the strict guardianship and discipline of his father he had to undergo a civil and military training. Natural instincts of his character were destroyed. He developed a cynic and opportunist view of life. He responded to the call of the time that was revealed in the preachings of the then philosophers. The inner vitality of the ruling machinery to adapt itself on the verge of a great socio-political movement was illustrated in the domestic and foreign policy and above all, in personal character of the ruler.

His aims and policy :

As the greatest exponent of benevolent despotism, Frederick wanted to uphold the general welfare of his people. He wanted to refashion the administrative set-up and to give some concessions to the people so that revolutionary conflagrations might not touch the monarchy and the landed nobility. But his reforms undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the middle-class and thereby revitalised the very existence of monarchy in Prussia. In his foreign Policy he wanted to wipe out the predominance of Austria in Germany, to consolidate his frontier regions and to enhance the prestige of Prussia in the international world.

His home policy :

Although a considerable part of his life was spent in military campaigns, Frederick devoted the intervals of peace to the task of improving the material prosperity of his country. He sought to heal the wounds of war by state enterprise. He was the greatest of the enlightened despots. First, agriculture was improved by draining marshes and internal communication was promoted by the construction of new canals and roads. By a canal the Vistula and Elbe were connected. Provisions were made for scientific manuring and irrigation. Royal funds were placed at the disposal of rural loan-societies to reconstruct farm-buildings. Thus the government could control the Junker landed aristocrats.

and the peasantry. Secondly, various new industries were established encouraged by subsidies. The twenty three years of life left to him after the peace of Hubertsburg were years of unremitting toil for Frederick. In a hundred ways he sought to hasten the recuperation and development of his exhausted treasury. Iron, silk and woolen industries got new incentives. Consequently a new middle class flourished in wealth and splendour. The monarch readily made a room for his class conscious bourgeoisie in the society by his other undertakings. Thirdly, he granted fundamental rights of man such as liberty of speech and expression. He allowed religious toleration and gave perfect freedom to the press. Fourthly, he undertook educational reforms and refashioned the educational frame-work in the light of new knowledge and scientific developments. Technical and vocational training schools were established. Military training and career was made available to every individual. Fifthly, he carried on reforms of coinage and his economic measures such as setting up provincial banks and tariff policy facilitated internal trade and industry. Sixthly, he remodelled the legal code and softened the severity of the criminal law. Laws were made more humane. Seventhly, following his father's example he confined the administration to a bureaucracy composed of men of the middle class dependent entirely upon himself. Eighthly, he employed nobles in the army rather than in civil service and formed them into a military caste. He also devoted his attention to the maintenance of a standing army of two hundred thousand men. He gave strict attention to the discipline and efficiency of his army. His military organisation became a model to other countries and paved the way for future unification of Germany under Bismark. Ninthly, Frederick also improved the system of administration of justice. Laws were codified and modernised, corruptions were attempted to be eliminated and trial by jury introduced, he also abolished the practice of torturing criminals. In short he did his best to restore the prosperity of his country and to promote the

intellectual advancement of his men. Despot though he was, his was a paternal despotism which always had the good of the people at heart. He declared himself to be the first servant of the state. In every sphere of the state-life his personal power was reflected. Herein lies his difference from Louis XIV who is reported to have said, "I am the state." It is this sense of duty to the state and his sleepless care to promote the welfare of his subjects that prompted Carlyle to call him the last of the kings. He was, of course, not the last in name but he was the last to receive the title "the great". There were others after him but none so great as he and none had such lofty conception of monarchical responsibilities. Three years after his death the French Revolution broke out which in a sense, ushered in the age of the people. But inspite of all his brilliant qualities he was a firm believer in the autocracy of the monarchs. Sir James Harris says that the basis of the Prussian Majesty's conduct is to consider mankind as beings created merely to be subservient to his will."

Foreign Policy :—

Frederick obtained favourable backing (1) by well-calculated policy of his father, (2) reserved treasury. (3) well-trained army, (4) efficient bureaucracy, (5) experienced monarch whose aim in foreign policy was to snatch away the Austrian predominance to make Prussia supreme in Germany and to enhance her prestige in the European politics, [contd.] [N.B. With this you are to odd a summary of the following answers.]

Q. 4. What was the political background of Austria ? Sketch the career of Maria Theresa.

The peace of Westphalia completed the decentralisation of Germany and weakened the position of the Emperor. the Habsburg ascendancy gave way to the supremacy of the Bourbons in Europe. They neglected the German interests and sought to seek compensation at the expense of Turkey and to curb, on the other hand, the power of France. The Emperor Leopold I helped the Dutch and joined the League

of Augsburg against Louis XIV. With the help of John Sobieski of Poland he repulsed the Turks from Transylvania and by the treaty of Carlowitz (1699) obtained greater portion of Hungary. Charles VI reigned from 1711 to 1740. The Turks were defeated from Hungary, Belgrade and the strip of Serbia. In order to solve the succession problem and to preserve the integrity of his Empire he wanted to leave his dominions intact to his daughter, Maria Theresa. He had drawn up Pragmatic Sanction and bribed Frederick William of Prussia by promising Julich, Berg and broke down the Hanoverian League. Frederick William by the Pragmatic Sanction refused to recognise Salic law in which women did not have succession right. In order to satisfy the British trade interest he suppressed the Ostend Company. For this end he also involved his country in the war of the Polish succession. He died in 1740.

Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa was young and inexperienced when ascended the throne. She claimed the imperial dignity for her husband Francis against a host of rival claimants to the Imperial throne. Frederick the Great refused to accept the Pragmatic Sanction which his father accepted on the plea that the bribe was not altogether paid. He sent an ultimatum in order to have Silesia which had great political, economic and strategic importance. He threatened that the refusal would mean war. Maria scornfully set aside the ultimatum. In her utter helplessness due to her minority, mismanagement in the government affairs, disorganised army Frederick was obliged to annex Breslaw, its capital and threatened to capture the whole of Silesia in the battle of Mollwitz. This incited Saxony, Bavaria, Spain, Sardinia to wage war against Austria. France agreed to operate Austria by which Frederick would have Silesia and the Elector of Bavaria would get the Austrian throne in lieu of the Rhine land. But Maria saved her position by the agreement of Klein Schnellendorf by which she ceded Silesia to Prussia. Prussia left the war-front and Maria got oppor-

tunity to handle her other antagonists. Her initial successes frightened Prussia and France again joined hands with his allies. In the battle of Czaslaw Austria was defeated at the hands of France. In 1743 Austria by the Treaty of Breslaw recognised Prussian supremacy over Silesia and Glatz. Prussia also agreed to assume neutrality towards Austria.

In England with the fall of Walpole's ministry Carteret formed the cabinet and joined hands with Austria in order to wipe out the Franco-Prussian menace in Hanover and to give a death-blow to the French maritime ascendancy. In the second Silesian war England defeated France completely in the battle of Dettingen. Meanwhile Bavaria came to terms with Austria after the death of its elector Charles and Saxony and Poland also joined hands with Maria. She now attacked France in two fronts simultaneously. But France's military manoeuvring proved decisive in the battle of Hohenfriedberg. He persuaded the overwhelmed Austrian troops and defeated them in the Sohr. The treaty of Dresden concluded the war and Maria accepted the predominance of Prussia in Silesia. The Anglo-French conflict came to an end in the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle (1748). Among the terms by this treaty Prussia obtained Glatz, Silesia. France recognised Maria's accession to the Austrian and George II's accession to the English throne and agreed to return the fortresses in the Dutch frontier-line. England obtained Madras and commercial privileges in America and India.

The Treaty of Aix could not satisfy either party and this necessitated the Seven Years' War. Because the peace was merely a truce to Maria and she could not digest the humiliation of ceding Silesia. The ground was prepared by Kaunitz, the Austrian minister who advised the queen to give up age-old Bourbon-Habsburg rivalry and to join her hands with France. This departure from the traditional policy was justified due to spectacular emergence of Prussia, Anglo-French commercial rivalry and coolness of England towards Austria. The determination to recover Silesia and expedi-

ency of Kaunitz's advice prompted Maria to establish entente with France. But France assumed a vacillating policy though she knew of her impending conflict with England. England concluded the agreement of Westminster with Prussia (1756). The news of this spectacular entente threw the French vacillations to the winds and without wasting any time France concluded with Austria the agreement of Versailles. The Diplomatic Revolution was complete and decisive. Austria made wisely a departure when she had no need of England. In consequence the Seven Years' War began out of three types of conflict ; (1) Anglo-French ; (2) Franco-Prussia and the (3) Austro-Prussian rivalries in and outside Europe. It was ended by the treaty of Paris 1763 and Maria could not recover Silesia from Prussia. The answer to the question, who was the dominant party in the Austro-Prussian rivalry was given decisively in favour of Prussia.

Lastly, Maria in 1772 participated in the partition of Poland. In spite of his unwillingness due to the advice of Joseph and Kaunitz she fell upon Poland and snatched away a portion of Red Russia, Galicia, Podolia and Cracow.

Internal reforms of Maria Theresa :

The exhaustion of the Austrian vitality was revealed to Maria Theresa in the war of succession. Internal reforms were necessary to recover Silesia. She appointed Prince George of Haugwitz as the chancellor and Rudolf Chotek as the new chief of the finance department. Haugwitz at once began the reorganisation of the central government, his aim being to introduce greater unity into the administration, to check corruption and to reduce the powers enjoyed by various estates, especially those which touched upon financial and military matters. The laws required codification ; the judicial power of the nobles was too great ; the influence of the clergy demanded supervision ; and primary education in Austria was far behind that of Prussia and France.

By an edict of May, 1749 justice was separated from administration and the Austrian and Bohemian chanceries were united. Most of the judicial work was transferred to a

High Court of justice (Hofrath). Later on, this Directorium was divided into the Exchequer and the chancery for executive work. Above all was placed in 1760 a council of state to exercise control over the chancery, the Exchequer, the Aulic Council of War and the High Court of justice. Secondly, it was settled that, instead of annual contributions of men and money, the provincial estates should in future vote a fixed sum for ten years and that the administration of military affairs should be taken out of their hands. The political powers of the estates were reduced and handed over to representatives of the central authority and local government, no longer exclusively in the hands of the nobles, was in many cases practically destroyed. All these reforms tended to the centralisation of the Austrian monarchy, the amelioration of the lot of the peasants and the diminution of the power of the nobles by suppressing the right to exemption from taxation. Thirdly, in 1746 the nomination of the professors of the University of Vienna was placed in the hands of the Crown—the first of a series of measures to bring all educational institutions under control of the state. Consulates were established, merchantships were built, the development of Trieste was encouraged, under Chotek's supervision roads and canals were vastly improved, internal custom-houses were restrained and the postal system reformed. An income-tax was imposed and a graduated poll-tax decreed. By these methods the revenues were augmented and Austrian credit was greatly enhanced. Fourthly, in view of Maria Theresa's determination to recover Silesia, military reforms were imperatively demanded. Conscription after the Prussian model was introduced. The number of soldiers was increased, the incompetent officers were removed, military schools were created. Efforts were taken to improve the morale of the army. The total fighting strength of Austria was increased to 195,000 men. When the Seven Years' War broke out, Maria was able to put into field an admirable army and an excellent artillery.

Her reforms established centralised despotism of the Austrian crown, no doubt that was benevolent. Her reign

anticipated that of Joseph II. It is beyond doubt that by her ability and courage she saved Austria from impending dissolution.

Q. 5. Explain the causes and results of the Austrian Succession War,

The Emperor Charles VI was the last male descendant of the House of Habsburg. In order to solve the succession problem and to preserve the integrity of his empire he wanted to leave his dominions intact to his daughter Maria Theresa. He had drawn up Pragmatic Sanction, a new law which declared his daughter to be his sole heir. He obtained from each of the leading European Powers a guarantee. He bribed Frederick William of Prussia by promising Julich, Berg and broke down the Hanoverian League. Frederick William by the Pragmatic Sanction refused to recognise Salic Law in which women did not have succession right. In order to satisfy the British trade interest he suppressed the Ostend Company. For this end he also involved his country in the war of the Polish succession. He died in 1740. Maria Theresa was young and inexperienced when she ascended the throne. [Then add the answer to the Q. 4. under the heading Maria Theresa]

The second Silesian war ended when Maria was compelled to sign the Peace of Dresden (1745). She confirmed the cession of Silesia to Frederick. The latter on his part agreed to recognise Maria Theresa's husband as Emperor. The war then assumed a duel between England and France. In India, the French captured Madras but in America they lost Louisburg. It came to an end in the Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle (1748). By it Maria Theresa was recognised as the sovereign of Austria and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was recognised as Emperor. Prussia obtained Glatz, Silesia. France recognised Maria's accession to the Austrian and George II's accession to the British throne and agreed to return the fortresses in the Dutch frontier line. England obtained Madras and commercial privileges in America and India. Sardinia's king Charles Emmanuel

obtained Lombardy, Savoy and Nice but returned Fineil to Austria.

Criticism of the Treaty :—

(1) The Treaty largely added to the territory of Prussia and enormously increased her prestige. She was ranked as one of the great powers of Europe. (2) Sardinia by its acquisitions in Lombardy took a step in advance towards the founding of an Italian monarchy. (3) The maritime supremacy of Great Britain was now assured ; and though France had been successful in Flanders and held her own in India, her growing weakness had been conspicuously exhibited at home and abroad. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, resulting as it did from the exhaustion of the various combatants, was no satisfactory pacification. This unsatisfaction necessitated the Seven Years' War. Because the peace was merely a truce to Maria and she could not digest the humiliation of ceding Silesia. The outstanding economic problems in the shape of Anglo-French rivalry for commercial and colonial predominance awaited a final solution. It left undecided the dispute between two powers in North America. It postponed, by article 18, the settlement of the claims of the Elector Polatine against the maritime powers and Austria. The rise of Prussia to a predominant position in Germany and entry of Russia in the European politics broke down the European diplomatic relationships and balance of power. France was also determined to wipe out black paints from her face by another bloody warfare inspite of her material exhaustion. Therefore, the peace of Aix was justly considered as a truce and a fitting prelude to the Seven Years' War and the consequent diplomatic Revolution.

Q. 6. (a) What do you mean by the Diplomatic Revolution ? How did it affect the political balance of Europe ?

(b) Describe the part played by Kaunitz in bringing about the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756. Was it ultimately beneficial for Austria ?

The year 1756 saw the break up of an old system and the substitution of a new one. Austria and France laid aside the enmity of 200 years, ceased to be rivals and formed an alliance which continued till the French Revolution. Austria broke off her long-standing connection with the maritime Powers, while England found an ally in Prussia. This regrouping of European Powers looked like reversing all history. But there were forces at work which resulted in the formation of a new balance of forces called the "diplomatic revolution" of 1756.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle could not satisfy either party. Because the peace was merely a truce to Maria Theresa and she could not digest the humiliation of ceding Silesia. The outstanding economic problems in the shape of Anglo-French rivalry for commercial and colonial predominance awaited a final solution. The rise of Prussia to a predominant position in Germany and entry of Russia in the European politics broke down the European diplomatic relationships and balance of power. France was also determined to wipe out black paints from her face by another bloody warfare in spite of her material exhaustion. Therefore, the peace of Aix was justly considered as a truce and a fitting prelude to the Seven Years' war and the consequent Diplomatic Revolution.

In march 1749 she directed each of the ministers to submit an opinion on the system of foreign policy which Austria ought to pursue. She found opinions were divided. The Emperor Francis and the older ministers advised adherence to the ancient system. To combat three enemies France, Prussia and Turkey she needed the assistance of the maritime powers and the alliance of Russia and Saxony. But the ground for the diplomatic revolution was prepared by Kaunitz, the youngest Austrian minister who advised the queen to give up age-old Bourbon—Habsburg rivalry. Consequently, friendship with France should be assiduously cultivated, France being the only great power likely to aid Austria. This departure from the traditional policy was justified for several reasons :—(1) The rise of Prussia and

entry of Russia in the European politics had broken down European balance of power ; (2) There was every likelihood of a Franco-Prussian rivalry for the hegemony of the Rhine land. (3) England could not help Austria without her maritime or commercial interest. Therefore, the age-old diplomatic relations of Austria with England should be disconnected and entente should be established with France.

The determination to recover Silesia and expediency of Kaunitz's advice prompted Maria Theresa to establish entente with France. France was ready to lend a sympathetic ear to her proposals for two reasons. First, the French were afraid that the growing power of Prussia would threaten the influence of France in North Germany. Secondly, France herself was in need of an ally in her impending struggle with England for commercial and colonial supremacy. But France assumed a vacillating policy to embrace the friendship of an age-old antagonist.

Meanwhile, England perceived her foolishness to join hands with Austria which could not satisfy her colonial and commercial interests all the world over. She was determined to save Hanover, the patrimony of her monarch and to deal a death-blow to the French commercial and colonial ascendancy in America and India. She also wanted to engage France in the European war front and to have a friendship with the newly-rising force, Prussia. All these considerations backed by personal interest prompted England to conclude the Convention of Westminster (1756) with Prussia. The news of this spectacular entente threw French vacillations to the winds and without wasting any time France concluded with Austria the Treaty of Versailles. The Diplomatic revolution was complete and decisive.

It was said that both England and Prussia were benefitted by this diplomatic manoeuvring. Engaging France in war against Prussia the way was blocked of sending the French subsidies to India and America. For the security of Hanover the alliance with the rising power of Prussia was preferable to that of decadent Austria. For Prussia the British alliance was justified. Because in order to safeguard Silesia from

the Austrian invasion and for the safety of the Rhenish territories against the French aggression the British help in men and money was urgently needed by Prussia. Austria made wisely a departure from her traditional policy when she had no need of England. The main object of the Austrian foreign policy was to recover Silesia. England could not help Austria when she had no interest in it. Moreover, Frederick was in the good book of the British people. So instead of the English friendship a neighbour in the continent like France was necessary for Austria. According to some historians Francis's alliance with Austria lies in the very logic of history and was necessary for her very existence in the Rhine-lands. The spectacular emergence of Prussia had brought a revolutionary change in the European politics. Moreover, the Anglo-French rivalry for commercial domination led her inevitably to embrace the friendship of Austria. But it is true undoubtedly that this alliance in no way improved her position in the European politics or brought about any material benefit or strengthened her army. Moreover, being engaged in the continental warfare she had to sacrifice her colonial and commercial interests. It brought about her exhaustion and wastage in her men and money. Moreover, the main objective of Austria being to recover Silesia the war in the continent was necessary for her. But France was engaged in war with England in India and America. By maintaining peace and status quo in the continent she could have sent there subsidies which was urgently needed for the safety of her commercial interest. It was England's policy (Pitt, Earl of Chatham) by engaging France in Europe to defeat her in the colonies; Pitt said, "we shall win Canada on the banks of the Elbe." "But France" says Henri Martin "committed an act of madness, of imbecile treason against herself, the like of which hardly exists in History."

Q. 7. (a) What are the causes and results of the Seven Years' War?

(b) What are the causes of the French failure in the Seven Years' War?

The main consequence of the diplomatic Revolution was the Seven Years' War. It was the culmination of three types of conflicts: (1) The Anglo-French conflict was traditional and age-old which had its genesis in the medieval period. But gradually bitterness between the two countries reached an acute stage in India and America. To check further advance of England France began to build some fortresses between Canada and Louisiana. In India Dupleix made the French influence felt in the Carnatic and Hyderabad by establishing the French candidates on the thrones. But the victory of Clive at Plassey and of Eyre Coote over the French at Wandiwash registered the triumph of the English and the ruin of the French cause. Moreover, the anxiety of George II for the security of Hanover guided them to meet each other in the battle-field. Secondly, there was Austro-Prussian rivalry for the recovery of Silesia. Maria Theresa was not inclined to accept as final the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Her whole soul was bent upon the recovery of Silesia. So ever since the conclusion of the war of the Austrian succession war, she had been elaborating a coalition comprising France, Russia, Sweden and Saxony against Prussia. She reversed the traditional policy of Austria by concluding an alliance with France and won over Czarina Elizabeth to her cause. Her object was not merely the recovery of Silesia but the complete annihilation of Prussia.

Thirdly, thus the war broke out partly through the tension between Austria and Prussia and partly through conflicts between England and France for colonial possessions. To these causes was added the military rivalry between France and Prussia. France had been the foremost military power in Europe and so she regarded with great jealousy the rise of the new military kingdom of Prussia. The ruin of European balance of power Frederick's selfishness and Francis's anxiety to annex the industrially developed Rhine-land accentuated the Franco-Prussian rivalry. And lastly, a new factor was added to the situation by the entrance of Prussia in the arena of European politics.

Russia came to fight a duel with Prussia over the spoils of the Turkish empire in the near east. Catharine's dislike for Frederick joined hands with the Russian hatred for Prussia.

"The situation which was to produce the Seven Years' War was composed of three rivalries"—so says Guadalla. And this war answered three questions? (1) Between Austria and Prussia who was stronger in Germany. (2) Between England and France who was the dominant power in commercial and colonial field? (3) Between France and Prussia who would obtain military supremacy?

The war was fought simultaneously in three fronts, namely, continental, American and Indian and was concluded in 1763 by the peace of Paris.

B. Results of the War :

With Russia removed from the scene of warfare and England bent upon making peace with France, there remained only Prussia and Austria under arms. But both the powers were completely exhausted by the strain of war. Moreover, Maria Theresa alone could not hope to crush Prussia and sought to come to terms with Frederick. Thus the Seven Years' War came to a close by two separate treaties. (1) Peace of Hubertsburg between Austria and Prussia (2) the Peace of Paris between England and France.

By the Peace of Paris France ceded to England the whole of Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton in the North America as well as a number of West Indian islands viz., Grenada, Tobago, Dominica and St. Vincent. Thus the French Empire in America was gone. In Africa, France was allowed to retain Gorco but had to cede Senegal. In India the French settlements were restored but no fortifications were to be permitted. Henceforth, the French ceased to be a political and military power in India. In Europe, England received back Minorca in exchange for Belle Isle. Spain was punished with (1) demolition of the fortresses at Hondurus; (2) revocation of the fishing-rights at Newfoundland and (3) deprivation of Florida.

By the Peace of Hubertsburg concluded between

Austria and Prussia the former confirmed the cession of Silesia to the latter, Frederick in his turn evacuated Saxony. Thus Frederick came out of the war without suffering any territorial loss.

If looked upon as an episode in the world's history, the great significance of this war lies in the fact that it decided the quarrel between England and France for supremacy in India and America, England ousted France from both and thus became the greatest of the commercial and colonising powers of the world. Her maritime supremacy was assured and she became the mistress of a new colonial empire in two continents. Again, the conquest of Canada prepared the way for another event of world-wide importance i. e., the revolt of the American colonies. Freed from all dangers from the French they became impatient of English control and eventually threw off the English yoke. Thus for England the peace was not so beneficial as it was thought to be previously. Moreover, in the war England had followed a policy of opportunism towards her ally Prussia and with the conclusion of the war the gulf of difference was widened between these two states. This proved a lack of foresight on the part of the Pitt ministry.

From a purely European point of view the great result of the Seven Years' War was the elevation of Prussia to a position of equality with Austria in Germany. A European combination had attempted to suppress the rise of Prussia but the latter successfully maintained her position. The result was that Prussia came out successfully of the ordeal without any territorial loss. One fundamental question still unanswered, "who was the powerful party in the Austro-Prussian as well as Franco-Prussian rivalry," got an answer. In both these conflicts the verdict was given decisively in favour of Prussia though she had still to reckon with these two formidable antagonists for her spectacular ascendancy in Germany in the 19th century. Moreover, the famous dual leadership was established in Germany, Prussia securing equal influence with Austria to direct and control the affairs of Germany. Another result was the humiliation of

France, involving the loss of her prestige and colonial possessions. She for a time, lost her place of importance among the great powers of Europe, whereas Prussia's position as a great military power was assured. The inherent weakness and exhaustion of France was revealed to the French people and to the world. Indirectly ~~it paved the way~~ for the French Revolution.

Causes of the Failure.

There were many causes of the French failure in the ^{কলিকাতা-৩৮} ~~French failure in the~~ Seven Years' War and simultaneously of English success. France committed her greatest blunder by her diplomatic relation with Austria which preoccupied her in the useless continental warfare and crippled her power to send assistance to the colonies. France was also lacking in an invincible navy and able admiralship. The weakness of the grand monarchy was revealed to the world in this war. On the contrary, England was always conscious of her true interests in the colonies and the potentiality of a constitutional monarchy was made prominent before the world. It gave anew incentive to the Industrial Revolution in England. For the building up of the British empire the whole nation harnessed its labour but the French government only took initiative for organising and managing its colonies. England got an able leader in Pitt while France got none to conduct her own war-efforts. The last cause of the French failure was her material exhaustion in the shape of huge loss of men and money. The blunders like recalling of Dupleix etc., which were committed by the French government contributed their quota in this war to humiliate her with defeat and disgrace.

Q. 8. (a) What were the causes of the partition of Poland? What were its results? Could the partition be justified?

(b) Can you justify the first and the second partitions of Poland?

✓ (c) Compare the motives by which the participation in the partitions of Poland were actuated.

(d) Explain the circumstances that led to the first partition of Poland.

What were its consequences ?

(e) Why was Poland partitioned again and again in the 18th century ?

✓ In the medieval period Poland was a strong and prosperous kingdom but the inherent weaknesses of the state revealed themselves in the eighteenth century. First, Poland was geographically situated in a very inconvenient position and she had no scientific frontier-line which could partially save her from the aggressive designs of her neighbouring states. Second, elective monarchy in Poland was a source of weakness. Because, after the extinction of the Jagloedynasty in 1570 the foreign states could intervene in the internal administration of Poland taking opportunity of coronation problems. (3) The Diet and the corrupted feudal barons made the position of the king more pathetic. In the social and political field the feudal barons obtained unlimited power and by a peculiar right of liberum Veto they enjoyed individually the authority to check any measure of administrative reform. Therefore, sovereignty was vested not with the king, nor with a class but with each individual baron. (4) The economic condition of the country was lamentable. The decaying condition of feudalism, the worsening condition of the peasantry, tyranny of its overlords and age-old methods of cultivation—all these factors contributed their shares for the economic stagnation of the kingdom. There was no development of new economic activities in the shape of trade and industrial developments in the kingdom and the absence of an energetic and progressive middle class left Poland on her medieval slumber. (5) The Political anarchy joined hands with religious disunity in the shape of conflict between Catholicism and Lutheranism. And lastly, the weakness was made prominent by the spectacular emergence of Prussia and

Russia. The policy of aggrandisement which was followed by Russia and Prussia made easier for Poland to collapse and at last to extinguish.

The political history of Poland is a tragic tale under the Vasa dynasty which ruled Sweden also in the 16th century. Therefore, two forces at home and abroad reacted together into her political field for her undoing. Sigismund III was a rival for the Swedish throne of Charles IX. He lost Livonia by the Treaty of Altmark. He could not achieve much in the Thirty Years' War but gave a blow to the Turkish power in the Treaty of Khoezim. His son Ladislas after assuming the kingship invaded Moscow and extracted some political privileges from the Tsar. He was a great patron of culture and obtained the credit of beautifying Warsaw. The next king John Casimir V had a troublesome reign. Russia, Tartar, Cossack and Sweden simultaneously attacked Poland and their clash of interests saved Poland. Casimir fled to Silesia being attacked by Charles X. But when Russia attacked the Swedish possessions in the Baltic Charles was compelled to return Casimir his Kingdom. The barons of the state would not give him respite when his foreign antagonist gave him relief. In the reign of the next king Michael Wisnowieski there was a temporary revival of the Turkish power. Michael saved his position by a secret treaty with Turkey. But the treaty was leaked out and he was ousted from the throne by an internal revolt. John Sobieski famous in history as the saviour of Europe from the Turkish menace was the next king of Poland. He combined qualities rarely found together in one man. "Everything about him was on a big scale—the vast corpulence of his body, the range of his culture, his energy in action, his immunity from petty jealousy and intrigue and the rich and abounding geniality of his temperament." His main objective was "to give the barbarian conquest for conquest, to pursue him from victory to victory over the very frontiers that belched him upon Europe". Immediately after his conquest he put a slap on the face of Turkey by the Treaty of Zurawno and extracted some political privi-

leges from the Sultan. But the French diplomacy saved the Porte for the time-being. Louis XIV compelled Poland to be neutral towards Turkey. But in 1683 Cara Mustafa annexed Hungary and threatened the security of Vienna. The Austrian monarch sought help of the European powers in his utter distress. Sobieski rose equal to the occasion and saved Vienna after a heavy slaughter. In 1684 the Pope Innocent XI formed the Holy League to expel the Sultan from Europe. The Treaty of Karlowitz was the indirect consequence of his victory. But the domestic condition during his reign was very problematic. Sobieski attempted a cultural regeneration of Poland by giving a death-blow to anarchy. He concluded a commercial treaty with Holland and encouraged industrial developments in his state. He was a patron of art and science. The main significance of his reign was the consolidation and maintenance of safety of his kingdom and of Europe against the Turkish aggression. Next king was Augustus II who joined with Denmark and Russia against Sweden. Augustus was deposed by Charles X but he again ascended the throne after an encounter with Stanislaus as soon as the Swedish king left for Russia. There was a war of Polish succession after Augustus and foreign powers took the opportunity to fish in the troubled water of Poland. France backed Stanislaus and Austria and Russia promised to support Augustus. A combined Saxo-Russian army invaded Warsaw. Stanislaus was defeated and took refuge in Dantzic. The French betrayal unnerved him. Augustus ascended the throne and accepted the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction. There was another war of succession after the death of Augustus III which ended in the First Partition of Poland.

We can catalogue the causes of the Partition of Poland as follows : (1) the disintegration of Poland was a paradox in history for which the elective monarchy together with the peculiar right of liberum Veto of the selfish barons were responsible. (2) This political disunity joined hands with religious conflict between Catholicism and Lutheranism. (3) Economic stagnation in the country and the decadent

feudalism was no less responsible for her partition. (1) Moreover, there was no strong and progressive middle class to regenerate the culture of Poland whereas she was a constant prey to (5) foreign aggression especially during the opportune moment of succession wars. [see also the first paragraph of this question.]

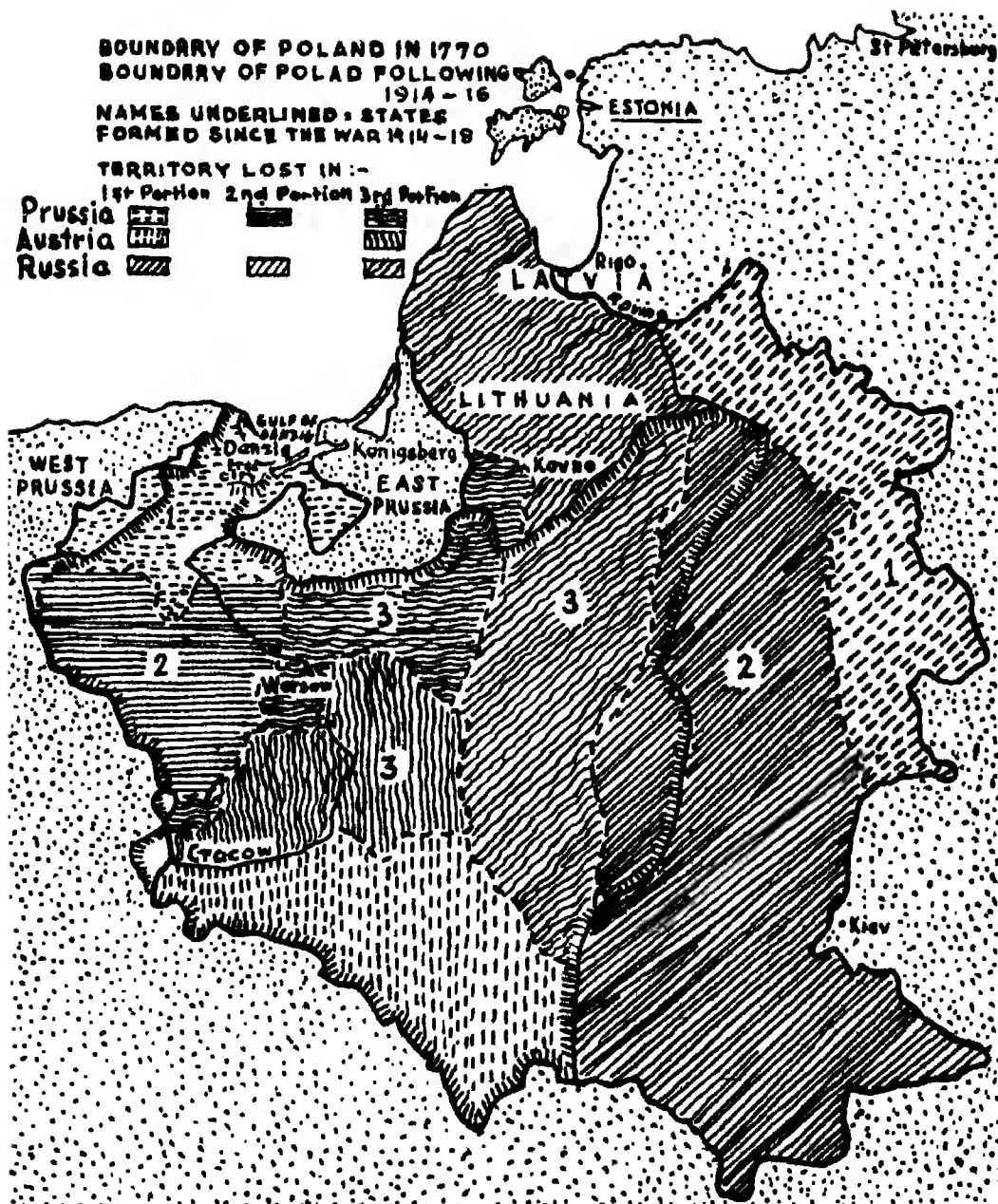
For two generations members of the House of Saxony, Augustus II and Augustus III, had ruled in Poland. If another member could obtain the succession, the crown might possibly be rendered hereditary. This was a contingency which Frederick the Great sought to avert, for Saxony was the rival of Prussia in northern Germany and the two states were often at feud with each other. Another vital consideration was the fact that East Prussia was separated from Brandenburg by intervening Polish territory. Thus separation was a source of great weakness specially in the matter of defending East Prussia. Hence, Frederick desired to partition Poland and to annex Polish Prussia. But from the reign of Peter the Great Russia followed an expansionist policy towards Poland and Turkey. Following that traditional policy Catharine II of Russia was averse to partition and aimed at the absorption of the whole country. Poland would give Russia a convenient base for military operation as well as extended Baltic frontage to make her influence felt on the western and central Europe. Maria Theresa was opposed to the inequity of the whole affairs of partition as Poland was a buffer-state to hold Russia in check. But her hands were forced by her son Joseph II who feared Russian advance towards the mouth of the Danube which would definitely arrest the eastern expansion of Austria. Hence Joseph II consented to the scheme of partition in order to provide Russia with compensation for her withdrawal from the mouth of the Danube.

In the nadir of her misfortune in 1763 Augustus III died and Prussia's foreign neighbours became active for enthroning their respective nominees. At last Prussia and Russia entered into a secret treaty and bribed the Polish barons in favour of the candidature of Stanislaus Poniatowski. Stanis-

laus attempted to make some administrative reforms and endeavoured to abolish liberum Veto. But he could not improve the lot of Poland against the vehement opposition of Prussia and Russia and the decadent feudal barons at home. Moreover, Frederick incited the dissidents, against the Polish Catholics. In 1772 taking opportunity of an internal trouble her neighbours, Austria, Prussia and Russia, partitioned Poland for the first time. Prussia got a portion of western Prussia and great Poland except Dantzig and Thorn. Austria got a portion of white-Russia. In 1787 second Russo-Turkish war began and once again Poland endeavoured to liberate herself from the foreign yoke. But as soon as the Russo-Turkish war was over Catharine came forward to punish Poland and her newly rising nationalists. The second partition took place in 1792 in which Russia obtained Eastern Poland, Little Russia, Podolia and Minsk whereas Prussia obtained Dantzing, Thorn, Posen, Nezen, Kelish and Austria obtained the promise to annex Bavaria in lieu of the Netherlands. In 1795 a nationalist revolt broke out. The Russian army promptly thwarted the revolt and punished her with final extinction in the Third Partition.

How far justified ?

The Partition of Poland led to the complete extinction of the kingdom from the map of Europe. One school of opinion asserts that (1) Poland had got well-merited punishment for the extreme selfishness of her nobles. (2) They treated the peasants with extreme harshness and these wretched serfs were liberated in the 19th century under the Tsar Alexander II. (3) Moreover, in 1815 Russia gave a constitution to Poland. (4) But main justification of the partition was the necessity of completely wiping out political anarchy and economic stagnation in the state. The anarchy in Poland was not regarded as a purely domestic matter, because it invited, rather compelled, foreign intervention. Its elective monarchy made the crown of Poland the diplomatic spot of the neighbouring states. Thus Poland was a problem spot



Europe. (5) Hence, it has been held by some that the powers were justified in preventing any future conflagration.

But that does not go to minimise the responsibility of the participant states. The partition was regarded by Guedalla as the most shameless and barren act of European diplomacy. It is shameless because (1) it completely extinguished the existence of an independent state from the map of Europe, (2) it completely disregarded the fundamental ethical rules and international obligations and (3) lastly, it was an example of selfishness on the part of three powers to partition the territories of a free people disregarding their rights of self-determination. This example was carried into practice by Napoleon in later years. It was barren because (1) it brought no accession of strength to the neighbouring states. The Poles remained unreconciled and a constant source of trouble to the perpetrators of this shameful crime. Thirdly, the destruction of Poland which might have been a buffer-state, increased the military difficulties of Prussia and Russia. They had to defend a long frontier-line. And lastly, the Polish troubles indirectly helped the French Revolution as the three powers were busy with Poland, it prevented them from forming an energetic coalition against France.

Therefore, judging from the point of view of diplomatic success the partition is not acceptable to a reasonable mind. First It was an example of lack of foresight as it extinguished a buffer-state between Russia and Prussia. Second, From the interest of different states it was a foolish step. Russia committed a great blunder by strengthening the hands of Prussia and Austria. Austria again indirectly helped Russia to pursue a policy of territorial aggrandisement. But Prussia was the only state which was benefitted by this partition. The Russian and the Polish subjects belonged to the same Slav race. Russia could have extended her sphere of influence over the whole of Poland. Third, the partition of Prussia set an unprecedented example of tyranny and oppression over an innocent people and within the next few

years Napoleon endeavoured to bring the whole of Europe within his empire. Fourth Moreover, the Poles were unruly by nature and this Polish unrest was a constant menace to internal security of these three big states as the Poles remained unreconciled to their lot. And lastly, it is a great lesson of history that Poland was reunited after First World War which proved finally how faulty the foreign policy of Russia, Prussia and Austria was.

Q. 3. What was the last stroke of Foreign policy of Frederick the Great? Give an estimate of Frederick's character. [Contd. See last paragraph of the answer to question No. 3]

Besides, (a) Austrian Succession War, (b) Diplomatic Revolution, (c) Seven Years' War (d) and the partition of Poland, the last stroke of Frederick the Great's foreign policy was his relationship with Joseph II of Austria. In 1777 after the death of Elector of Bavaria Joseph II endeavoured to annex Bavaria. Frederick opposed Joseph and compelled him to climb down in the Treaty of Teschen in 1779. Moreover, he concluded the League of Furstenbund with Hanover Saxony and the neighbouring states to thwart future territorial designs of Joseph. When Joseph negotiated for placing the Bavarian elector on the throne of the Netherlands with the title "King Frederick with his Furstenbund completely outwitted Joseph by his last stroke of diplomatic manoeuvring."

Estimate :

Frederick had great contribution to the history of the unification of Germany. He was an enlightened despot and established benevolent despotism in his country. He encouraged trade, industry and agriculture in his country. It raised the level of living standards of his subjects and helped the growth of an energetic middle class. Moreover, education and legal systems were reformed and Frederick offered the fundamental human rights of liberty of press and worship. But the great defect of his character was his selfishness who disregarded others' right to live. In his foreign

policy he showed the excellence of his diplomatic knowledge and genius. Because by his diplomatic manoeuvring the Prussian state no less than Prussian army had cast a spell over the mind of Europe. He consolidated his kingdom by annexing Silesia. The partition of Poland strengthened his position in the east and lastly, by the Furstenbund he thwarted the territorial designs of Joseph II.

But Frederick's foreign and domestic policy provoked severe criticism among contemporary historians. Frederick's activities and achievements were not devoid of faults. (1) His annexation of Silesia could not be justified in view of the fact that it led to huge loss of men, money and prestige. (2) About his military department Mirabeau remarked, "Prussia is not a people that has an army but an army that has a people." It taxed heavily the emotional feelings of his people. (3) The hired foreign army were devoid of patriotic feelings for Prussia. Moreover, Frederick thought himself to be the First servant of the state. (4) Due to strong centralisation Prussia felt keenly the lack of responsible bureaucracy who looked to the real interests of the people. Undoubtedly, Frederick encouraged cultural activities in the state but he (5) took no step for a social regeneration of Prussia. (6) And lastly, on the eve of the French Revolution the monarch attempted some superficial reforms within the already existing social and economic frame-work of the state. Here lies his lack of creative faculty. But during his reign Prussia became a great military power in Europe. This military predominance gave her a commanding position over Europe and led to the eventual unification of Germany in the 19th century under Bismark. This spectacular emergence of Prussia placed her on the same plane with the Austrian empire and completely revolutionised the the European balance of power which culminated in the Diplomatic Revolution.

Q. I. (a) How far is it true that the policy of Emperor Joseph II was radical? Do you agree with the view that Emperor Joseph II was the statesman per excellence of the age of reason in Europe?

(b) "The best of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century." How far do you agree with the estimate of Joseph II of Austria? Were his reforms successful? Why did he fail?

Perhaps the best type of the class of Benevolent Despots Joseph was elected Emperor in 1765 and succeeded to the throne of Austria after Maria Theresa in 1780. A singularly industrious and well-intentioned ruler, he was the most enlightened monarch of his age. His character was the conglomeration of blunders and virtues. A confirmed rationalist he wanted to apply high idealism in state-craft of welfare government. But he was lacking in patience and tact. His ideas were far in advance of his age and so his beneficial reforms were not appreciated by his people.

His great object was to achieve administrative and national unity. He wanted to consolidate all his Austrian dominions into one homogeneous whole and to weld together the various races of his empire into one Austrian nation. Secondly, he wanted to wipe out social inequalities and to build up a new people within his empire. Thirdly, he wanted to revitalise the administrative machinery and to establish a despotic government under democratic set-up.

To accomplish these objects he abolished old territorial divisions and divided the whole of his dominions into thirteen administrative circles or provinces, each under a military commander. The provinces were subdivided into districts and towns and were to be uniformly governed without reference to the privileges of race or class. German was to be the official language throughout the Habsburg realm. Second, he reformed the judicial administration by establishing a uniform code of justice which secured equality before the law. A supreme court was established at Vienna and below it six appellate courts were founded. There also took place revision and codification of criminal and civil laws. Third, he founded schools and provided for compulsory primary and military training. Fourth, his religious policy was to bring the church under the control of the state and to

establish it on a national basis by forcing it from papal control on the French model. He deprived the clergy of their control of education by substituting state seminaries for church schools and threw open education to laymen. By issuing the Toleration Edict he granted freedom of worship to the Protestants. Fifth, he practically abolished serfdom by allowing the serfs to marry without their lords' consent, to sell their land and to pay a fixed rent in lieu of labour services. Thus unpaid labour system or the system of *corvée* was established. Sixth, he granted liberty of the press. Seventh, he encouraged trade and industries and improved the means of communication. But he was a firm believer of mercantilism and so by imposing import duty he encouraged export trade. And lastly, to raise the status of the common people, he swept away the exclusive privileges of the nobles, the clergy and the corporations. He made them all share the burdens of taxation imposing a universal tax of 13 per cent on their land.

*Results :—*Joseph's reforms were often statesmanlike in conception and were the outcome of liberal and enlightened spirit. But they were hasty and doctrinaire and were carried out without any regard for the prejudices and traditions of the people whose benefits they had undertaken. His reforms produced discontent and revolt. His policy of religious toleration shocked the orthodoxy of the Netherlands and that province rose in revolt. Second, his administrative reforms which substituted a centralised system for the old Hungarian constitution led to a rising in Hungary and the peoples had to be conciliated by the re-establishment of their old constitution. So he has been described as one of the most pathetic figures in history. But although he failed in his plan to centralise and unify the administration many of his reforms, such as his system of education, religious toleration and abolition of serfdom made for the permanent good of his country.

*Foreign Policy :—*The foreign policy of Joseph II was marked by the same restless activity that characterised his home policy. His objectives were to achieve internal

unity and consolidation, (2) to re-establish the Habsburg supremacy in Germany and to attain a more convenient conformation of the Habsburg dominions. (3) So he wanted to restore Silesia by dealing a death blow to Prussia : (4) He wanted to annex Bavaria and Belgium to his kingdom ; (5) He struck up *entente cordiale* with Russia making France and Prussia his main antagonists.

At the outset Joseph II sought by means of the Prussian alliance to check the advance of Russia. He co-operated with Frederick in the First Partition of Poland to prevent Russia from absorbing the whole of that country. His Polish spoils coupled with the acquisition of Bukovina from the Turks, did much to round off Austrian frontier in the east. Second, he sought to take advantage of the war of Bavarian succession to secure a belt of Bavarian territory, but he was thwarted by Frederick who brought about Russian intervention to settle the dispute. By the Peace of Teschen which followed the conflict, Joseph had to give up his aggressive attitude. Third, he turned to his Belgian possession (Austrian Netherlands). He forced the Dutch to give up the barrier fortresses which they were allowed to garrison by the Treaty of Utrecht. He sought to upset another international arrangement by trying to throw open the river Scheldt but without success. In 1781 he struck up *entente cordiale* with Russia to create a counterpoise to the growing influence of Prussia. Relying upon Russian support Joseph sought to exchange the distant Belgium which was difficult to defend for Bavaria. In 1784 Meistricht was annexed. France intervened and patched up the Treaty of Fontainebleau by giving partial satisfaction to Joseph. It was a wise strategy to enhance the Austrian influence in Germany. But his plans were frustrated by Frederick who formed a league of German princes, the *Furstenbund* to prevent the exchange. Fourth, the real basis of Austro-Russian alliance was the project of Catharine II to dismember Turkey and to swallow it, if possible. In pursuance of this project Joseph declared war against the Turks and made considerable headway but was forced to call a halt by the threatening attitude of Prussia. The

Triple Alliance which was formed between England, Holland and Prussia, came to the rescue of the Turks and on Joseph's death in 1790 Leopold II concluded the Treaty of Sistova in 1791. Russia fought on alone and secured considerable territory including the strong place of Ochakoff by the Peace of Jassy in 1791. In his foreign policy Joseph could not achieve any spectacular success. Making the formidable enemies in two fronts of his empire he fell upon the friendship of Russia. But it was the Russian lukewarmness and opposition and also the wise diplomacy of Frederick that thwarted his designs in every direction. In annexing Bavaria and Silesia he showed the same lack of foresight and a deep patriotic feeling.

Causes of Joseph's failure—Joseph's reign was full of noble efforts but they all ended in failure. The causes are not far to seek. It should be noted, why the reforms of Frederick the Great were successful while those of Joseph II failed of their object. The cause is to be found in the contrast between Prussia and Austria. First, the way had been prepared for Frederick the Great by the labours of his predecessors. But Joseph succeeded to a state which till then was medieval in outlook and policy, quite untouched by any attempt at change or reform. Second, Joseph could not rely upon any solid class of supporters. The middle-class was still in its infancy and conflicting national aspirations within the Empire proved ruinous to Joseph's reformendeavours. Third, the Austrian Empire was a hotch-potch of diverse races and nationalities with marked local peculiarities. There was neither unity of race, nor of language nor of religion. To unify such a diversified empire in the life-time of a single man is an impossible task. Therefore, these three factors lack of reforming traditions, infancy and conflicting middle-class aspirations and diverse problems of the kingdom gave rise to some other factors. First, the reform undertakings were mostly unpractical and devoid of realistic basis. Second, the reforms were undertaken without giving people time for a psychological preparation. Third, he was engaged in radically reforming diverse

problems of the kingdom within a short time. Fourth, naturally he overlooked the sense of priorities and time and some of the reforms were far in advance of the place. Fifth, the people had little belief and respect for the Enlightened despotism when the time was ripe for revolution in France. (6) Moreover, Joseph committed some blunders. He ignored the strength of selfish interests and of national and class-prejudices and local traditions. He never took the first step before he had taken the second. In foreign policy also he was not successful. Because, first, he was defeated by the diplomacy of Frederick, second, opposition of France and (3) lack of statesmanship on the part of Joseph II.

Q. 10. (a) What is Eastern question? (b) What are the chief features of the Eastern question? (c) Why Turkey escape from being partitioned? (d) Give a brief outline of the history of the Turkish empire in the last half of the 18th century. (e) What are the causes of the decline of the Turkish empire?

In 1354 after the capture of Gallipolli the Turks proved themselves a menace in Europe. But after Carlowitz (1699), Passarovitz (1717) the Ottoman Empire began to decline perceptibly. Turkey had lost Hungary in 1699 by the Treaty of Carlowitz. Prussia had also begun to press southwards, driving back the Turks. This decadence of Turkey prompted the neighbouring powers to swallow the Turkish empire. But their clash of interest over the empire as well as religious and nationalist complications gave rise to what was called the Eastern question. In the second half of the 19th century the forces of nationalism and liberalism got tremendous impetus in the empire. There the Balkan peoples agitated for achieving the right of self determination. And the Eastern problem assumed the name of the Balkan question.

Eastern question is divided into four features. (1) Decline of the Turkish Empire; (2) Penetration of the European powers in the near eastern politics (3) Religious complications; (4) emergence of nationalism and liberal movement within the Empire.

A. Causes of the decline of the Turkish Empire :—

Some of the causes enumerated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in connexion with the fall of the Mughal empire may possibly safely be applied in case of the Ottoman Turks. Moreover, there is a limit to the expansion of an empire. After the limit is reached a decline sets in. Viewing from these two propositions it seems that the Ottoman empire was based on quick-sand, on weak and artificial foundations. So the causes of the decline of the Turks are not far to seek.

1. The geographical factor though not of much importance but wide extent of the Empire, different geographical conditions, influence of the Mediterranean ocean coupled with rich fertile soil had much to do with the decadence. It bred indolence and laziness of character.

2. *Monarchy* :—The empire was marked by absence of strong centralised government while the personal authority or the basic foundation of the power had declined. The Sultans were weak in character ; in intelligence as well. They lacked a sense of responsibility and patriotic feelings for the empire. Their inherent weakness to govern coupled with lack of political foresight provoked plots and conspiracies within the harem leading to palace revolutions.

3. *Civil administration* :—The civil and military officials were lacking in moral integrity, constructive statesmanship, or patriotism. The empire was governed by corrupted, and decaying administrative machinery as the old garrison-principle was not abandoned a little. Powers and functions of the officers were not well-defined. The despotic government, ignorant of the revolutionary terms like 'rule of law' or 'legal equality' could not demand loyalty of the subject peoples. The provincial governors or Pashas were virtually dictator in absence of centralised government. And provincial anarchy reigned supreme in distant parts of the empire. There was no revenue administration worthy of the name and no budget, no adequate source of income except war.

4. *Military* :—Therefore, in the absence of strong monarchy and efficient civil administration an empire can fall upon its military organisation for existence. But the military system also lost its former vigour as tyrannical and anarchical Spathies and Janissary mercenaries proved a hindrance to the growth of the empire. The army was composed of heterogeneous elements. There was no improvement in military strategy and tactics, no improvement in war-technique and weapons. The policy of expansion or the garrison-principle followed by the Porte proved ruinous to the empire at large.

5. *Economic* :—The most important factor of the downfall of the Ottoman empire seems to be the stagnant economic life. Eastern character of feudalism reflected its serious defects in the society. Service-tenure of a military character proved ruinous to the general interest of the people. The subject-peoples were broadly divided into two classes ; feudal landed aristocrats and the serfs. The class-struggle between these two classes following one's exploitation over the other retarded economic progress. The Sultans failed to give any encouragement to agriculture or to economic activities in the wake of trade and commerce.

6. *Want of synthesis* :—But as a consequence of new inventions, commercial relations with other countries and as an impact of the French Revolution a new class-conscious middle-class came to the forefront. Due to existence of numerous social classes, the empire lacked uniformity in cultures and ways of life. The rulers had never attempted to assimilate the conquered or to be in their estimation by establishing a good government. The forces of nationalism and liberalism stimulated class-consciousness of the diverse nationalities and linguistic-groups of the Empire.

7. *Challenge of neighbours* :—And lastly, there was the challenge of the neighbouring powers and pressure from outside to fill the internal vacuum of power. Russia and Austria followed a consistent policy of aggression over Turkey whereas England and France wanted to further

their political and commercial interests within the Empire. John Sobieski of Poland played a successful part in expelling the Turks.

Therefore, this decadence of Turkey offered opportunity to the great powers to expand. First, the ambition of Russia at the expense of Turkey was a constant factor in the Eastetn question from the days of Peter to the War of 1914. Russia was backed by military consideration of territorial aggrandisement. Secondly, Peter followed the "warm water" policy. And the Russian Tsars backed by commercial considerations wanted to reach the coast-line of the Mediterranean and to have a secure outlet to the sea. The Russian policy in the Near East had three aims in view viz., to grasp the whole of Turkey, if that was found impossible, to establish a protectorate over her or failing that to partition the empire between the contending parties. There were some favourable factors that facilitated Russia to follow this policy of expansion towards Turkey. First, Turkey stood in the way of Russia's natural expasion towards Turkey. Second, by helping to destroy Poland, Russia had absorbed the interests and responsibilities of that power. Poland had been bulwark of Europe against Turkish aggression and now Russia felt called upon to discharge the same obligation. Third, the population of the Turkish empire belonged mainly to the same slav race as the Russians and the religious temper of the Russian people was well suited for the crusading zeal having for its objects the recovery of Constantinople and the protection of co-religionists viz., the orthodox Christian subjects of Turkey who belonged to the Greek church.

This lengthening shadow of the Russian bear in the Near East was very disquieting to the British lion, Her foreign policy in the mid-18th and 19th centuries was based on two fundamental pillars, one was to further the British trade interest all the world over and the other was to maintain balance of power in the continent among states and to engage them in the continental warfare so that they would be able to pay little attention to the colonies. With

regard to the Near East before the Crimean War in the mid-19th century England followed the same policy. But suspicion about Russian designs upon Turkey was the key-note of the British policy. They feared that the establishment of Russian control over Constantinople would greatly jeopardise British trade-interest in the Mediterranean or military interest towards India. So throughout the 19th century England stood forth as the champion of Turkey against Russian aggression. Palmerston expounded the policy of bolstering up Turkey as a buffer-state and held that given suitable opportunity she might again become a respectable power. Secondly, with this policy of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman empire England had the other object of checking the Russian advance towards the Mediterranean or towards India by swallowing Turkey and lastly, England being a constitutional kingdom and the British people always sympathetic towards other peoples' struggle for independence had natural sentimental attachment for national movements in Turkey. Here lies the contradiction in the British Near Eastern policy. In the official level England wanted to preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire whereas the British people clamoured for national independence of the Balkan nationalities which eventually destroyed its integrity.

Austria's interests in the Balkan region were perhaps more vital and four factors shaped her Balkan policy. At the outset Austria followed a defensive policy towards Turkey when the Turkish glory was at its height. But later on Austria followed an aggressive policy when the power of the Porte gradually declined. She wanted to expel the Turks from Europe and thus to extend the Austrian territorial limits. Secondly, economically it was essential that she should have a secure outlet to the sea for expansion of sea-borne traffic and for this she must expand in the direction of the south-eastern parts of the Turkish empire. Thirdly, this trade-interest in the Danube valley coupled with the fear of encirclement by Russia from military standpoint

demanding the prevention of the establishment of Russian supremacy at the mouth of the Danube. Thus Austria was Russia's rival in the Balkans. Lastly, she feared growth of pan-slavic movement in the Balkans which encouraged by Russia might sap the loyalty of her own slav subjects in her southern dominions. So it became her policy to cripple and confine the leading slav states in the Balkans whose growing nationalism was a menace to the integrity of the Austrian Empire.

To France the Eastern Question involved issues commercial and religious, rather than political. The Capitulation of 1740 was an important landmark in history. She was the traditional ally of Turkey and obtained special trading privileges in Egypt and Syria. She was also the traditional protector of the Roman Catholic Church in the East. But France was not a consistent champion of Turkey. To her Turkey was mainly one which concerned her naval and commercial position in the Mediterranean.

As regards Germany, the affairs of the Near East did not appeal to her till the last quarter of the 19th century. Germany came into existence in the latter half of the 19th century. In 1878 at the Congress of Berlin he posed as an "honest broker" and administered a check to Russia in order to befriend Austria. Rapid industrialisation in Germany and growth of capitalism demanded advancement towards the Turkish empire. In the last decade of the 19th century Germany became the champion of Pan-Islamic agitation.

This conflicting attitude of different nations joined hands with religious complications. Taking advantage of the Turkish misrule the Christian and Muslim populations antagonised with each other. In the middle of the 19th century a quarrel between the Greek and the Latin Church developed seriously in Jerusalem offering opportunity to the European nations to poke their nose. Religion was the main cause of the Crimean war. The social class-struggle between the landlords and the peasants took the garb of religious struggle very often within the empire. This was a

natural phenomenon in all under-developed states of this country.

The last factor which complicated the Balkan question in the 19th century was the emergence of nationalism as an indirect impact of the French revolution and the new economic activities coming out of the Industrial Revolution. Naturally, the new middle-class among the submerged nationalities demanded the right of national self-determination.

Like Poland Turkey in her moribund state might have easily provided a territorial feast to the powers. But the 'sickman' of Europe showed unusual recuperative powers and his political heirs had to wait long before they could succeed to the inheritance. There were three main factors which delayed the dismemberment of European Turkey, First, although a declining power, the Turks retained their fighting genius and could as late as 1788 defeat the Habsburg forces. Secondly, by her geographical position Turkey was remote from the centre of European politics. Europe was not primarily concerned with Turkey. To these causes may be added the conflicting interests and rivalries of the European powers. And lastly, the continental warfares saved Turkey very much and especially, two main events of the 19th century i.e., the Italian and German unifications saved her from territorial spoliations. Moreover, the feverish colonial activities in the last decade of the century all the world over had its share to save the destiny of the Porte.

Turkey became weak due to a war against Persia in 1735. Czarina Anne and the Austrian emperor declared war, Russia captured Ochakoff. But the Turks expelled them from Bosnia and Serbia. The French negotiations brought about the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. By it Austria surrendered Belgrade and Orsova together with all the territories which she had acquired by the Treaty of Passarovitz. Russia was left without an ally. She was even threatened by Sweden being incited by France. By the Treaty of Constantinople Russia was compelled to restore all conquests except Azov of which the fortifications were to be dis-

mantled. Russian ships were to be excluded from the Black Sea. It was a triumph of French diplomacy. It checked the Austro-Russian aggrandisement for a time rewarding France with increased commercial privileges and offering Turkey a further lease of life. But this peace was merely a truce.

After the first partition of Poland the Turks viewed the progress of Russian interference in Poland with jealousy and alarm. They were incited by France to check Russian designs. The Sultan on the pretext of violation of the Russian neutrality declared war against her in 1768. The Turks were defeated and compelled to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia. The Treaty of Katchuk-kainardji in 1774 was concluded. The Treaty was a landmark in the Russian history of expansion at the cost of a weak power. [See for detailed answer the answer to question no. 11 on Catharine II's Turkish policy up to....."the Turks recognised Russian annexation of the Crimea and Ochakoff and thus lost their hold on the northern coast of the Black Sea upto the Dniester. "]

11. Q. (a) Briefly describe the home and foreign policy of Catharine the Great of Russia.
- (b) Give an estimate of Catharine II of Russia.

By birth Catharine II was not even a Russian, but a princess of protestant Germany whom dynastic considerations made the wife of the heir to the Russian Crown, Peter III. She had intellectual intercourse with Voltaire and other French philosophers of the day. She was a prolific journalist and a writer of historical articles and dramas. But she was unscrupulous and profligate in her private life. Though lacking in creative genius like Peter she was created by the influence of his age and followed in the footsteps of his predecessors. She passed as one of the enlightened despots of her time by posing as the friend of western civilization and patronising philosophers like Diderot, Voltaire and others.

Aims and policy of Catharine II. : Following the footsteps of her great predecessor she wanted to (1) make her authority supreme and unrivalled, (2) Besides, she wanted to spread the Western European civilization among the Russians. In her foreign policy she followed a way of expansion at the cost of the decadent Turkey. (3) She wanted to open the Black Sea for the Russian vassals and to reach the Mediterranean.

Domestic. To hoodwink the people she discussed many questions of reforms but did nothing to achieve them. She centralised the administration by dividing Russia into forty-four civil "governments" and districts and over each of them she placed officers appointed by the central authority. Second, she took the landed-nobility into confidence and appointed them in high offices keeping the royal authority intact. Thirdly, she appointed a committee for the revision and codification of the already existing laws. Fourthly, she secularised church property and thereby made the clergy dependent upon the crown. Fifthly, being of western birth, she naturally favoured western civilization and even outdid Peter in her zeal to found schools, create industries and foster commerce. Thus she opened her country more thoroughly to western influence. Consequently her reforms increased the power and efficiency of the monarchy which were thus a development of the policy of Peter the Great.

Foreign : The chief significance of Catharine's reign lies in her foreign policy. She identified herself with Peter's idea of expansion towards the west. Three countries stood between Russia and Western Europe, viz., Sweden, Poland and Turkey. The central fact of the Eastern question was the expansion of Russia and it took three natural directions. (1) The advance towards the Baltic had been accomplished by Peter at the expense of Sweden. (2) The advance towards Poland was necessary to secure a more extended Baltic-coast and to bring Russia into improved connexion with western Europe. (3) The third line of advance, towards Turkey was necessary for three considerations. First, Turkey stood in the way of

Russia's natural expansion towards the Black sea and this barred her access to the Mediterranean. Second, by helping to destroy Poland Russia had absorbed the interests and responsibilities of that power. Poland had been the bulwark of Europe against the Turkish aggression. Lastly, the religious temper of the Russian people was fired with the zeal to recapture Constantinople and to protect the Greek Church. The circumstances which favoured Catharine's foreign policy were (a) chronic anarchy in Poland ; (2) Gradual decadence of Turkey, (3) France, the traditional friend of Poland and Turkey, as well as other two states Austria and Prussia were exhausted by the Seven Years' War to intervene.

She extended sphere of influence in Poland. In 1763 the Polish king Augustus III died. She enthroned her nominee Stanislaus Paniatowski and extended her political influence. A secret treaty was concluded with Frederick to partition Poland. In 1772 by the First partition she snatched away territories between Dwina and the Dnipper.

The Turks viewed the progress of Russian interference in Poland with jealousy and alarm. They were incited by France to check Russian designs. The Sultan on pretext of violation of the Russian neutrality declared war against her in 1768. The Turks were defeated and compelled to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia. The Treaty of Katchuk-kainardji in 1774 was concluded. This treaty is a landmark in the Russian history of expansion at the cost of a weak power. (1) By it Russia got Azov and a number of places which gave her a firm grip on the northern shore of the Black Sea and control of the Sea of Azov. (2) The Black Sea was also opened to Russian navigation. (3) Crimea was declared independent of Turkey and this was a step to its eventual incorporation in the Russian Empire. (4) Turkey agreed to accept Russian consuls in the Turkish towns and to allow Russian subjects free exercise of their religion and free access to the holy places of Palestine. This last clause gave Russia an ambiguous protectorate over the orthodox Greek Christian subjects of Turkey.

The war with Turkey was renewed in 1787. Catharine came to an understanding with Joseph to partition Turkey. She annexed Crimea in 1784. In 1787 the Russians attacked Ochakoff while the Austrians marched upon Belgrade. But she called a halt for the threatening attitude of Prussia. Prussia fought on alone and forced the Turks to come to terms by the Treaty of Jassy in 1792. The Turks recognised Russian annexation of Crimea and Ochakoff and thus lost their hold on the northern coast of the Black Sea up to the Dniester.

In 1789 the French Revolution broke out and the Poles demanded change of their constitution. Prussia and Russia joined hands with each other. In 1793 the insurgents were rewarded with the second partition. Now Catharine swallowed Little Russia, E. Poland and Minks. The unfortunate Stanislaus was compelled to accept the humiliating treaty of 'External Alliance'. In 1795 the Poles revolted under Koseiusko but was defeated by Maciejoeie and was taken to prison. Warsaw surrendered and the revolt collapsed. The Third Partition was arranged between Austria and Russia in 1795. Poland henceforth ceased to be a state from the map of Europe.

Catharine II ranks as one of the enlightened despots of the 18th century. She was acquainted with the thought movement of the period but she did not carry out into practice her love for philosophic liberalism. (1) Her administration, though efficient, was in no sense liberal. (2) She did absolutely nothing to improve the condition of the down-trodden serfs. (3) Although she opened her country more thoroughly to western influences the medievalism of Russian society remained an anomaly which she did little to improve. (4) Behind her zeal to improve education and material condition of Russia she had the earnestness to establish her prestige. In her foreign policy she committed some blunders. (1) She created suspicion in the minds of England, France and other powers and complicated the Eastern question. (2) She destroyed a buffer-state by the partition of Poland. The poles belonged to the same slav

race as the Russians. Catharine committed blunder by not insisting on extending sphere of influence over the whole of Turkey. Eventually the partition was revoked but she enabled Prussia and Austria to proceed towards Russia and made inevitable a serious clash in the 20th century. She, however, did much to improve the material prosperity of Russia. She enhanced her national prestige in the field of European diplomacy. If Peter was the founder of the greatness of Russia, Catharine made that greatness felt among the nations of Europe. Her actions and domestic and foreign achievements were handicapped by tradition of Russia and limitations of time, place and thoughts. No one can rise above those great limitations except a genius. And unfortunately Catharine was no exception to that.

Q. 12. What do you mean by "Enlightened Despotism?" Illustrate your answer from the history of the seventeenth century Europe.

The last half of the 18th century has been called as the age of Enlightened or Benevolent Despotism. According to the political principle of the period state was all in all in the political life and the people or the nation was nothing. Therefore, the monarchs could concentrate all powers in their own hands. The monarchs would rule according to the law of succession but they ceased to be selfish and oppressive. They would rule for the welfare of the subjects. They made the state omnipotent but were obliged to take account of public, as distinct from dynastic interests.

This change in the mental outlook of rulers was largely due to the influence of rationalism which was the keynote of the writings of the 18th century philosophers like Locke and Montesquieu. Voltaire had a disciple in Frederick. Diderot supplied Catharine II with ideas and George III of England modelled his kingship on the doctrines of Bolingbroke,

Lord Acton calls the age as one of the Repentance of

monarchy, the conception that government exists for the promotion of security and prosperity of the governed was fully grasped by the rulers. But in the affairs of foreign policy these despots undoubtedly followed dynastic and class interest of the feudal lords. Frederick thought himself to be the first servant of the state. It is a doubtful story how far most of the monarchs were sincerely interested in translating the enlightened views of the philosophers into practice. They were believers in rationalism. It was realised that government existed for the good of the people. It was denied that it should be directed by the people. The people are to be ruled as their masters think they should be. [Now you are to add domestic reforms of Frederick the Great, Catharine II and then Joseph II. See answers to questions number 3, 11 and 9. Then you are to add reforms in Spain and Portugal and France.] There was a revival of the Spanish glory under a series of reforming ministers like Alberoni and Patino. Charles III and his ministers attempted to sweep away the anomalies in church and state by reforming the legal system, developing the economic and intellectual life of Spain and mitigating the severity of the Inquisition. In Portugal, Pombal, the minister of Joseph I forced upon the people a series of reforms which stimulated industry, encouraged and secularised education, reduced the power of the Pope and curtailed the jurisdiction of the inquisition. In France Necker, Turgot and Caligury carried on similar politico-economic reforms which endeavoured to reform the revenue department, facilitated trade and industry and increasingly took the middle class into confidence. But these reforms were carried on by the enlightened ministers rather than by their rulers. [See answer to the question no 17.] [Political causes of the French Revolution]

Causes of the Failure :

First the enlightened despots failed to enlist the sympathy and support of the people. Reforms in which the people have no initiative are not likely to prove lasting.

Secondly, the monarchs very often worked hastily without taking into consideration the prejudices of the people and their strong sentiments. Third, its success depends solely upon a single mind or will. When the guiding genius is removed the whole machinery is either used for bad ends or is thrown out of gear and falls into confusion as was the case in Prussia after the death of Frederick.

[Then you are to add causes of the failure of Joseph II see answer to question no. 9]

[N. B. You are to note that Joseph II was regarded as the best of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. Therefore, his reforms and his failures are the types of enlightened despotism. On the other hand Carlyle calls Frederick the great "the last of kings for there was none after him as great as he." You are also to discuss how far this contention of Frederick is tenable. See answer to the question no 3]

Q. 13. What do you understand by "balance of power ?"

Out of the ashes of the Schmalkaldic and Thirty Years' war the political idea of balance of power came into existence. This principle guided the action of European states in the 17th & 18th centuries in their relation with one another. It means that when a state becomes stronger than the neighbouring states the other powers endeavour to form coalition against that state to check possible aggression Louis XIV completely ignored it and began a series of aggressions upon his neighbours. William III of Holland organised coalitions of European powers to hold Louis in check. The Treaty of Utrecht [1713] maintained the balance of power. In the Baltic region under Charles XII the balance of power had been disturbed. Like the Spanish inheritance it was readjusted by the method of partition in the treaty of Nystadt (1721). Therefore, in the 17th century it was advocated in defence of weak states against their strong neighbours. In the 18th century it was made an excuse for the aggrandisement of the more powerful

state over the weak neighbours. Austria and Prussia sought to balance each other's acquisitions in Poland by partition in order to offset the growth of Russia. The growth of Russia was a constant source of anxiety to her neighbours like Turkey and Sweden.

A notable historian Prof. Taylor negated the prevailing idea that when two contending parties are equal in power the balance of power is maintained between them. He contends that each state wants that the balance should remain in his side. Thus when a power or a group of powers beg to increase production of armaments and military resources against other power then the cold war commences. It is then called a period of "war of nerves". They talk of peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation. But as soon as one party begins to think that the other power has increased his armaments and has become stronger to such an extent that the territorial integrity of the other powers may be jeopardised it then in pursuance of the policy of balance of power declares war against that stronger power. The war would then be called "preventive war" or the war in "self-defence". According to him competition in armaments and technical advancement would continue between Russia and America. And a state of war may arise between the year 1965-66. But it is also possible that the atomic weapons and its heavy production may usher in a new age by banning war altogether from the face of the earth. The state sovereignty would then be replaced by supranational world federation. The principle of balance of power then may be non-existent.

Q. 14. What is Industrial Revolution ? What are the effects of the Industrial Revolution ?

The Industrial Revolution, as was coined by the Elder Toyenbee, was the child of the 18th century. The process went on through the 19th century. The salient features of it are as follows :—

A. It is a revolution in technical process in coal and

iron-mining, textile, transport and even in agriculture accompanied by technical improvements.

B—It is a revolution in output, as an immediate consequence of technical improvements the productive power of the society expanded immensely.

C—It is a revolution in productive units. Together with innovations in mining and ship-building large-scale industries developed,

D—Consequently a class of Entrepreneurs emerged and came to be known as bourgeoisie.

E—It is a revolution in economic system. Europe emerged from the agricultural economy to the industrial. The population in towns increased and large-scale industries developed.

F—It witnessed the assertion of rights and forces of key industries such as coal and iron, The colonies supplied raw materials, minerals in a large-scale and in return satisfied themselves with the finished products.

G—Increased rate of productive capacity gave rise to the flood of hands and operatives. The village unemployment found shelter under town's demand for hands in factories.

H—As a consequence it witnessed a revolution in totality of population, Population increased in towns due to employment and there was a considerable rise in living standard.

I. Naturally a change occurred in distribution of population together with emergence and development of towns. Politically, it necessitated Parliamentary reforms in the shape of rearrangement of constituencies as was the case with England.

How did the change come in different spheres of economic life ?

Coal. Increasing demand for coal from the 18th century necessitated introduction of innovations in mining industry as, use of steam-pump to pump out water out of mines. In

1797 at Pithead the use of rail-roads helped easy communication and invention of Davy's safety lamp helped miners.

Iron—The use of coal joined hands with rapid development in iron industry. In 1740 Huntsman's invention of steel processing made the fortune of Sheffield. In 1783-84 Scott invented Pundling and rolling process. In 1800 Musket's process produced rapid production of steel directly from iron ore.

Textile. In 1756 Hargrives spinning geny was invented. There were some other notable inventions too. - 1769 Arcwrigths's water-geny, Prempton's invention of mule, the power loom of Cartwright in 1785, 1803 Horrocks automatic loom, 1803 Radcliff's dressing machine, Colonies supplied raw materials.

Communication. The use of steam-power made possible by James Watt was popularised by Bolton in 1761. Following the policy of Colbert of France transport system improved as the rail-roads, canals and metal roads were constructed under state patronage. Navigation and steam-engine made possible easy communication. Ports and ship-yards were equipped with modern instruments. Stage-coach system gave way to locomotive and steam engines by George Stevenson.

Consequences.

• Industrial Revolution brought about revolutionary change in the productive system. It made possible rapid growth of trade, industry. phenomenal accumulation of national wealth in the hands of bourgeoisie and on the other hand, it witnessed the worsening condition of the lower class. The emergence of capitalist economy gave rise to social evils and burdened the lot of the oppressed proletariat. It is a natural consequence in an economy based on the pillars of private initiative and control of productive machinery. The tragedy was aggravated by :

A—The tendency to lengthen working hours of the working class. The labourers had to work for more than 12 or 14 hours a day.

B—This brought about the tendency of minimising the uneven low wages. Money wages might be increased but not the real wages because that could not be compensated by the longer hours of labour, extra labour and gradual shortening of expanse of life.

C—As a result terrible condition of environment and atmosphere prevailed in the mills and factories. The lack of hygienic condition in the industrial areas brought about moral degeneration and employment of child and women labour interrupted social conscience.

D—There was also future insecurity of labourers and lack of proper safeguards against forced unemployment. New inventions and expansion of industry opened scope for employment and consequently led to overproduction. This led to contraction in the output of industry and threw the labourers to unemployment. Free competition, limit in the market, private initiative and individual ownership of means of production—these were solely responsible for future uncertainty of labourers.

E—Employment of child and women labour in unsuitable works perturbed social conscience, led to rapid growth of social evils.

F—This led to the lack of social control, crippling of the power of government and emergence of the doctrine of laissez faire. Out of the Industrial Revolution the spectacular changes which cropped up are, (1) Emergence of trade unionism, a tendency among operatives to unite and organise themselves to protect their mutual interest under cover of trade clubs and benefit societies. Second, this provoked the workers to agitate for changing existing labour legislations and introducing new legislations for protecting workers. Third, some attempts were made for new legislations but actual agitations followed with a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class that took shape in the Luddite or machine-breaking revolts and later on chartist movements in England. In the continent also we find Baboufist agitation inspired by the teaching of Mably and other utopian socialists. St. Simon and Fowrier demanded

worker's right to work as well as Louis Blanc in France. Fourth, in the intellectual field gradually socialism or new philosophy as well as a programme of workers took shape. Marx and Engels gave a final touch to that philosophy. Fifth, in the political field also it had its reflections. England and France became industrial and commercial states and this drew them apart. There was often clash of interests leading to the clash of arms. Napoleon introduced the continental system against the British goods whereas England by Orders-in-council wanted to cripple the French commerce. Sixth, besides there was the problem of expansion of market, colonialism and the foundation of imperial policy of aggrandisement. And lastly, side by side with colonialism and imperialism a strong agitation for free trade came to the forefront. Banking business developed as well as the share-market expanded together with the development of large-scale industry, heavy and key industries.

Q. 15. What do you know of the Anglo-French relation from 1740 to the emergence of Napoleon in France.

With the decline of the Dutch maritime ascendancy France became a serious rival of England in the colonies of America and India. The first stage begins with the war of the League of Augsburg and ends with the peace of Ryswick. The second stage in the Anglo-French colonial conflict began with the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession and concluded with the Peace of Utrecht (1713). The Assiento Treaty was concluded between Spain and England. England obtained commercial privileges from Spain. Out of this treaty began the Jenkin's Ear war in 1739. This war became merged in the war of Austrian succession when hostilities were removed between England and France. Thus began the final stage of the struggle.

If we discuss the comparative position of the two rivals it may be found that France, though she was late in entering the colonial competition succeeded remarkably in gaining colonial possessions in India and America. But both as regards population and trade the English were in a better

position. Due to fanatic religious policy of her kings France had not sufficient settlers to plant her colonies. The French colonies were directly under state control. People had little scope for developing a spirit of enterprise and initiative. But the English colonies from the start developed a self-reliant character. Third, as regards trade and commerce England and her colonies were much more prosperous than France and her colonies. Richelieu and Colbert had indeed done much to stimulate the French navy and commerce but the ambitious wars of Louis XIV retarded her development.

In spite of the naval superiority of the English, France attempted to dislodge England's colonial possessions of America and India. In India the French captured Madras from the English while in America the English captured Louisburg, the capital of the French colony of Cape Breton. The war ended with the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle. The mutual restitution of conquests was effected.

After the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, in India Dupleix tried to extend French influence over the Carnatic and Hyderabad. Over both the territories he installed rulers who were French nominees. In America the French were seeking to occupy the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi and thus to link up Canada in the north with Louisiana in the south. They proceeded rapidly to prevent the westward expansion of the English. In 1754 the English Ohio Company tried to settle the Ohio valley with Englishmen and to build fort there. The English were driven out by the French who built a fort of their own, name Fort Duquesne. The English colony of Virginia sent against the French a detachment under Washington. Two regiments were sent from England under General Braddock during the Seven Years' War. But the British resistance was repulsed and destroyed. The commanding genius of Pitt turned the tables on the French. The French commerce was swept away. Their colonies in the West Indies were conquered. In 1759 Wolfe was crowned with victory in the capture of Quebec. That ensured English conquest of Canada.

In India the victory of Clive at Plassey and that of Coote at Wandiwash secured the triumph of the British cause. The French empire in India became a lost game.

By the Peace of Paris which terminated the Seven years War the colonial empire of England all the world over became an accomplished fact. From France she obtained Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton as well as several islands in the West Indies. In India the French possessions were confined to a few unfortified trading stations. England, therefore, became the unrivalled colonial and commercial power all the world over until Napoleon threatened the British commercial interest. [See answer to the question.]

Causes of French failure :

First, the superiority of the British naval power was the determining factor in the struggle. Second cause was the European complications of France. England fought with limited responsibility on the continent and could devote herself almost exclusively to the colonial struggle in India and America. But France throughout the 18th century attempted an impossible combination of colonial and continental policy. Third, able leadership of Pitt and diplomacy of Clive in India and generalship of Wolfe in Quebec were other factors of the French defeat. Moreover, Dupleix was recalled from India. Fourthly, due to the internal policy of the French monarchs France became gradually exhausted in her foreign policy. And lastly, with regard to resources and man-power England was in a better position than France in her colonies as well as in the continent. France was embroiled by Prussia, a rising power of the continent which obtained financial support from England. Therefore, Prussia enabled England to become the master of the colonies all the world over.

16. Narrate the causes that led to the outbreak of the War of the American Independence. Discuss the results of the struggle and causes of the American colonies.

Within the remote causes, of the war of American Independence-

dence lay the germs of direct cause of the war. A section of the colonists refused from the remote past to accept the suzerainty of the British king. They were mainly the descendants of persons who were driven out from England by the religious persecution during the Stuart period.

The then colonial policy of England provoked strong resentment. To maintain commercial monopoly and to regulate the colonial economy in England's interest and to overlook true interest of the American colonies, were the colonial policy of England. By the Navigation Act of 1660 during the reign of Charles II England enacted that the American colonies would only buy the British finished goods and sell raw-materials only to England and not to any other country. In spite of these commercial prohibitions the American colonies enjoyed more privileges from the mother-country than other countries. Even Adam Smith, the strongest opponent of the colonial policy supported this view. Moreover, the Navigation Act of 1660 was enforced strictly and the colonists began to smuggle commercial commodities freely establishing illegal commercial intercourse with the other non-British colonies. But France at that time followed an expansionist policy and due to future insecurity in spite of strong resentment the British colonies could not revolt against England. But the psychological atmosphere changed with the Seven Years' War. Absence of insecurity and victory complex of England led to serious clash of interest between the two powers. With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States.

According to Riker long distance of America from England, emergence of nationalism, consciousness about the right of self-determination and enjoyment of long colonial self-government are some of the factors that led to the war of American independence.

From the reign of George III the navigation acts of 1660 were rigorously imposed. They could not manufacture steel, hat and woolen goods in the colonies. They had to send tobacco and cotton only to England. But the occasion

of the open breach between the two powers was the assertion of the right of imposition of direct taxes over the colonies by England.

In 1763 Lord Grenville became the chief minister in Great Britain. Four things then occurred which began the trouble. First, he found that the revenue from the American customs was only about £2000 a year, and not unnaturally he tried to put some check on the vast amount of smuggling which these small figures indicated—a step strongly resented by the colonists. Secondly, in order to protect the British West Indies, a law had been passed in 1733 putting very heavy duties on molasses or liquid sugar coming to the British North American colonies from the French West Indies. Smuggling had made this law ineffective. But now Grenville, though halving the duty on foreign molasses, saw that it was levied, and this increased the colonial irritation. Thirdly, the British government, anxious to prevent the the frauds and abuses which had been formerly committed in obtaining lands from the Indians, issued a proclamation forming large parts of the land of the colonies into a reserve for the Red Indians and fresh grants of land by the Red Indians except through the colonial superintendents appointed by the crown. This seemed to the colonists to be doing away with their rights of independent and indefinite expansion, and caused great suspicion and resentment. Then, fourthly Grenville decided that it was necessary for the American colonies, not only against the French but against the Indian tribes to keep a small standing army in America. Grenville was not unreasonable in thinking that the colonies themselves should contribute something towards the cost of the army. He also suggested that the colonies should pay only one-third of the expense of this army by means of an act under which all legal documents should bear stamps. The stamp act was passed in 1765. Legally the parliament had right to pass acts for her colonies. But it was natural that a liberty-loving people should object to being taxed by a parliament in which they were unrepresented. The riot began, a governor's house was burnt, no one used the stamps

and nine delegates united to launch a protest. The opinions of British statesmen differed when news of these riots reached England. Grenville stood out for Great Britain's legal rights. Burke thought the act inexpedient and were not concerned with its legality. Chatham thought that the British parliament had no right to impose an internal tax on the colonies. On Grenville's retirement, Rockingham succeeded as prime minister. Adopting a conciliatory policy he repealed the Stamp Act. An act was also passed declaring that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies.

But troubles broke out in 1767. Townsend imposed duties on tea, glass and paper imported into the American colonies. He contended that as these were external taxes levied at the ports and not internal taxes, the colonies could not object. The derived money from these taxes was to go to pay the governors and officials. This was to cut at the root of colonial self-government and aroused the strongest opposition. In 1770 Lord North's ministry abolished the duties on glass and paper. But the duty on tea was foolishly retained in order to assert the right of taxing. The result was the British regiments had been subjected to various kinds of insult in Boston and a small incident at last was magnified into the Boston massacre of 1770. Secondly, a British ship, the Gaspee, engaged in repressing smuggling was boarded one night by some American colonists and burnt in 1772. The East India Company was allowed to export its tea direct to America. But it was believed that this was only a trick of the government to reconcile the colonists to the tax by cheapening the cost of tea, when the ships arrived in Boston a number of men in disguise boarded them and threw the bags of tea into the sea (1773)

The British parliament now acted with severity. An act was passed modifying the constitution of Massachusetts, transferring to the crown the appointment of many of the high officials, prohibiting public meetings by the colonists, the port of Boston was closed. In response the American Congress representing all the colonies except Georgia was held at Philadelphia. This Congress drew up the Declara-

tion of Rights, demanded the repeal of 13 Acts of Parliament and initiated a boycott of British goods. Lord North then tried reconciliation. But the War of Independence had already begun with a skirmish at Lexington (1775). In the July, 1776 came the famous Declaration of Independence in which the thirteen colonies finally broke their allegiance to Great Britain. Two points are significant. First, it was only because the colonists were Englishmen with an Englishman's idea of liberty that they rebelled—no other colonists would have done so. Secondly, the colonists, by the time of the accession of George III had grown up, but remained unrealised by the mother country which was perhaps the chief cause of the difficulties.

Sir William Howe occupied temporarily New York. In 1777 Saratoga surrendered. France joined with the rebels and attempted to annex Gibraltar and Minorca. In 1780 Holland also declared war against England. In 1781 with the surrender of Cornwallis the victory of the Americans was assured.

In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles was concluded. The American independence was recognised. The confiscated properties of the royalists were restored. The frontier line between U. S. A. and Canada was again demarcated. Spain regained Florida and Minorca and France reoccupied Tobago, St Lucia and other colonies from England.

Results: First, the Americans got their much longed for independence and a future to shape their own destiny. England gave up her old colonial policy based on mercantilism. The policy of laissez faire henceforth became the keynote of the British new colonial policy. Secondly, as an indirect impact of this war of liberation the decadent Holland opened her way towards decline. The Spanish American colonies also got the incentive to revolt against the mother country. Thirdly, France became a spent force. Her territorial acquisitions out of the troubled waters of the American independence was not compensated by her financial exhaustion. The weakness and bankruptcy of the French monarchy became an accomplished fact. The

experience gained in the War of Independence by Lafayette and other leaders was fully utilised in course of the French Revolution by the rebel leaders. The Declaration of Independence, the constitution, the idea of separation of powers and above all their revolt against authority inspired the French people to rise against the Bourbon despotism.

Causes of American success :

The Americans succeeded in achieving their long cherished Independence due to many reasons. First, geographical remoteness of the American continent was the primary cause of their success. Secondly, the national unity, patriotism and strong belief in a war for just cause kept the morale of the Americans in tact. Thirdly, able leadership of George Washington and his remarkable associates like Hamilton and Jefferson also prepared the ground for their success. Fourthly, England also committed many political and strategic blunders. They were not united for a common cause. They might be right from the constitutional point of view but their tactics in dealing with the colonists provoked tremendous oppositions instead of reconciling them to their lot. Fifth, France took her revenge of the humiliation of the Seven Year's War. Spain also in order to recover her lost colonies helped the rebels like France with money and arms. Lastly, the formation of a league of the neutral states was also responsible for the success of the rebels. England began to search for contraband goods of the neutral vassals and unnecessarily harassed the neutral states. This method provoked the neutral states to put England into troubles by forming League among themselves.

Q. 17. (a) What are the causes and background of the French Revolution ?

(b) How far was the French monarchy responsible for the outbreak of the French Revolution ?

(c) How far was the Revolution of in France in 1789 precipitated by economic factors ?

(d) Why did the Revolution breakout in France and not in any other country in Europe ?

(e) How far the philosophy of reason was responsible for the Revolution ?

The French Revolution is said to be a bourgeoisie revolution. It was directed against the ancient Regime, against the prevailing social, political and administrative injustice which were prejudicial to the prosperity of the bourgeoisie. The general people swelled the ranks of the revolutionaries and was guided by the middle-class leadership. They had also their grievances against the existing conditions. The causes, material and metaphysical as well were to be found in the socio-economic background of the period.

The social condition of the then France was somewhat better than that prevailing in other states of Europe. Nevertheless it was suitable for the breeding of the upsurge. Differences and class conflicts were the two features of the society. From this follows logically the third feature ; inequality. The French society was graded from top to bottom and each grade differed from others in legal rights and in the enjoyment of powers and privileges. Broadly speaking, France was divided into two classes privileged and unprivileged. The conflict between these two classes represented social aspect of the revolution. First in the country side there were the landed nobility swelled in wealth and privileges but free from obligations. They had to struggle hard with the peasantry among whom some were serfs and as such were the objects of exploitation of their masters. The rising class consciousness fomented discontent among them. Second, there was the conflict of interest between the upper strata of the ecclesiastics and the lower strata most of which had identified themselves with the interest of the general population. Thirdly, another conflict is noticeable between the employers and the employee. The period also witnessed the growing discontent and class consciousness among the urban labour class. •

(a) The Clergy :—

The clergy along with the nobility formed the whole privileged class. In the church as elsewhere, we find the same inequality and favouritism. The upper clergies constituted the first estate and they were only 2% of the population. They had much socio-economic privileges in their hands. The higher clergy monopolised all the lucrative church offices but were quite indifferent to their spiritual duties. They were recruited from the younger sons of the nobility and they conducted themselves as typical men of the world, being devoted to self-advancement and given to pleasures, intrigues and dissipation of the court. Most of them lived in Versailles and neglected church-service. Education was stereo-typed and in most cases neglected. On the contrary, the lower clergy, who did the real work of spiritual consolation and instruction were wretchedly recompensed. They had to work in poverty without any hope of promotion. Hence they formed a discontented class ready to join hands with the common people against the abuses of favouritism and absolution. Many of them were encyclopædists and atheists.

(b) The Nobility :—The feudal nobles had mostly degenerated into a body of greedy courtiers, jealous of each other. In Feudal times the nobility enjoyed exemption from taxation as well as other feudal privileges in return for the services they rendered to the provincial government. But as the monarchy became centralised, the local services were performed by the central government, the nobles being deprived of all local power. But they continued to enjoy the privileges of feudalism though they were not called upon to perform the duties attached to that system. The absence of duties made the continuance of rights anomalous and irritating. They were absentee landlords and lived in towns. It was this that roused the indignation of the peasants when they were subjected to the feudal exactions of the nobles. Hence as Professor Lodge remarks, the Revolution was directed not against the feudal system but

against the effete survival of parts of that system. Under this anomalous system the nobles simply formed a privileged class, holding a considerable portion of the land of the country, exercising the rights of hunting and forestry to the injury of the peasants, exacting forced labour from them, enjoying exemption from the Taille or property-tax, monopolising all the offices in the army, navy and the church, without being called upon to perform any service to the state. But they were out of touch with the new knowledge of the period, leading a life of lamentable corruption like their ecclesiastical counterpart. A conflict arose between the nobility by wealth and nobility by birth. A slogan of the Revolution was so 'the career open to talents.' The nobility became the common ground of attack not only of the peasantry but of the bourgeoisie who directed their attack against property by the church and the nobility.

(c) **The Tiers Eta't** :—Below the two privileged orders there was the vast majority of population called the Third Estate. It was not a homogeneous body. It comprised the peasants, the bourgeoisie or the upper middle class and the artisans. (1) The condition of the peasantry who formed by far the largest section of the populations, was deplorable in the extreme. As the agriculture was neglected the peasants in absence of improved means of cultivation could not improve the total production. Their material conditions were aggravated in absence of irrigation system and by occupation some of them were serfs and the peasants who owned land had to bear the brunt of feudal obligations. The peasant had to pay rent to his feudal lord, tithes to the church and taxes to the king. The whole burden of taxation fell with a crushing weight upon him, specially in view of the fact that the privileged orders were more or less exempted from taxation. To crown his misery, he was subjected to the most galling feudal obligations. He had to submit to compulsory labour for making or repairing roads (corvee) had to grind his corn in the lord's mill, had to calmly endure the sight of his young crops being trampled by his lords' hunting party. He could not erect fences to shut out the

the game from the fields. In a word, what with unjust taxes, what with feudal obligations, the peasant lived on the verge of disaster, with starvation often staring him in the face. Still we are told by the historians that their material conditions had improved and coming in touch with the new knowledge they were inspired with the revolutionary principles.

(ii) The artisans or urban labour class gradually was coming to light as the industry developed together with its associated evils. The industry was under the clutches of the guilds and similar close corporations dominated by the middle class and controlled by the government. The living condition of the artisan apprentices was very deplorable. Money was accumulated with the industrialists and the skilled labours had even no scope to improve their means.

(iii) And lastly, the pre-revolutionary society witnessed the gradual emergence of the middle class or the bourgeoisie. They formed the well-to-do, intelligent and the energetic section of the community. They were practical businessmen who had piled up wealth and secured a monopoly of municipal appointments. Conscious that they were as good as the nobles they keenly resented existing system under which they were made to feel in numerous ways their social inferiority. Although their interests differed from those of the other members of the third estate, they were a discontented class and wanted political and social reforms. Analysing from this point it is said, "vanity made the revolution. Liberty was only the excuse." "The revolution was an outcome of struggle between classes, of a movement for social equality by the bourgeoisie."

3. Political and administrative.

These aggravated social conditions joined hands with the political and administrative conditions of France against.—

A—When the Third Estate revolted, the despotism of the Grand monarchy degenerated from the paternalism into inefficient machinery. The monarchy was weak due to personal character of the reigning monarch Louis XVI on the face of growing financial crisis ; (2) mounting extravagance

and failure of all attempts at economy, (3) failure of all reforming attempts by the ministers which confessed the creeping degeneration in the system ; (4) and this precipitated loss of prestige of the monarchy due to corruption and domination of the sectional interest in the court.

B—Moreover the military department was not reformed. The higher ranks were monopolised by the nobility and the state failed to provide the department with improved means and methods.

C.—Louis XVI was said to be the best of the Bourbons but as a man he lacked wisdom and diplomatic foresight. This is proved by his appointment and dismissal of several enlightened ministers and his dealings with the revolutionaries. His lack of initiative in the state policy, mental stagnation and his dissatisfaction with nationalism in a period of the enlightened despots precipitated the Revolution. He was left with two alternatives, either ruin or initiative. He fell back upon the first and destroyed himself. Hence it is said, 'Absolute monarchy was revealing its fatal flaw, the fact that sovereignty depended on the accident of heredity.'

D—But attempts were made to save the face of the monarch. Turgot tried to reform administration and took several steps. (1) maintained rigid economy in the spirit Colbert and restored the credit of the government to the confidence of the people by reducing the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deficit ; (2) Purified the financial system by abolishing gratuities and abuses in assessment and collection of town dues and extension rent to the nobility. (3) Encouraged internal free trade with the re-establishment of freedom of corn and wine trade ; (4) abolished corvee or forced labour and (5) Jurandeas or medieval corporations which hampered free-trade characterised in Six Edicts and (6) Lastly, introduced local elective bodies. But in spite of all these he was dismissed due to his (1) dictatorial conduct ; (2) revival of the parliament, (3) reluctance of the monarchy to touch feudal privileges and intrigue among the nobility.

E. Next minister Necker attempted to call the parlia-

ment and prosecuted war raising debts. But he had to give way for Calonne when Assembly of the Notables took place. He proposed (1) imposition of tax on all, (2) abolition of duties on frontiers; (3) to free the corn trade from the governmental control; (4) to reduce *taille*. But he was dismissed for such drastic steps and came Trienny. All these attempts fomented demand for calling of parliament which met on 5th July, 1788.

This decadence of the ancient regime reflects the aggravated political condition. The administrative machinery was on the point to collapse, Privileges remained in the hands of the vested interest while some power came in the hands of the elected representatives. There were checks and balance in the machinery but that now proved a bar to efficiency of the administration. There was no clear-cut division of power of administrative departments. The middle class demanded political justice. The department of the judiciary was most inefficient. The laws were not systematically codified, justice was expensive, a long-drawn process and people could not expect equity. The procedure of the judiciary was also most unsatisfactory and punishment was most severe while the accused could not engage pleaders for his own cause. Legal equality was denied to the people and the judges were inclined to pronounce verdict in favour of the nobility.

This political condition fomented revolution. The middle-class wanted to eradicate some administrative evils and their political demands were represented by slogans. (1) Career must be open to talents and would not depend on birth. Administrative offices were monopolised by the decadent nobility. Higher military posts were confined to this class and the posts of higher clergies were kept apart for the aristocrats. (2) The idea of *laissez-faire* had come to the forefront and the middle-class wanted to expand their business free from governmental control. Moreover, they wanted to mould administrative policy and take part in its machinery. (3) Thirdly, they were copying the ideals of the English and American constitutions, advocated for constitu-

tional government and sovereignty of the people though most of them prefer constitutional monarchy i.e., to free the crown from the aristocratic clique.

Above all, economic causes reacted tremendously on the advent of the Revolution. The monarchy had no economic policy, no budget, no principle for imposition and collection of taxes—"The Revolution was precipitated by the economic factor and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fired by finance". In other words, it was the financial question that forced the situation. The French government was without credit, the treasury was empty and there was no prospect of replenishing it by taxation. For the privileged orders who enjoyed exemptions would not pay while the over-taxed middle and lower classes could not pay. If the impending bankruptcy was to be averted, a change in the system of government was imperatively necessary and this change precipitated the crisis. The condition of the national finances was highly critical. France had entered the century heavily in debt because of Louis XIV. These debts had gone on increasing owing to the corrupt extravagance of the court of his successor, Louis XV. Not only were his court expenses pitched to a very high scale, but in addition he gave money, pensions and appointments freely to those who gained his favour. All these combined with the cost of wars which were of frequent occurrence steadily pushed France nearer to bankruptcy. Another feature of the financial system was inequality in taxation. There was no uniformity on imposition of salt-tax and in some places people were forced to buy salt according to the governmental whim. Taille was sometimes imposed on land sometimes on income. There was no economic justice and the incidence of taxation fell heavily on the people. This was aggravated by the extravagance and mounting luxury of the nobility. The peasants had to pay three-fold taxes: (1) 53% of the governmental land-tax or taille, (2) 28% of the tithe to the church and feudal dues to the nobles. The remainder of income went on the back of duties and salt-tax and so on. The middle-class

advocated free-trade because they were not exempted from rigorous imposition of taxes. First, the existing internal tariff duties prevented the free movement of goods and all attempts to remove obstacles to the growth of inland trade had failed. Second, existing medieval customs like the restrictions of the *jurandes* prevented industrial development. Thirdly, the middle-class though not unable to pay taxes, resented the heavy burdens of taxation and demanded that the nobility should also share the burden. B. Like the imposition, the system of collection of taxes was also defective. The tax-collectors were more dangerous than the external enemies for the ruin of the state, it was stated. The system of farming out revenues to the tax-collectors was ruinous to the government. Again there was exemption from taxes for about four thousand people on being of the privileged class. This exemption-privilege was again sold in different departments. Lastly, the church as a privileged sector enjoyed exemption from revenue-payments.

C. This was the state of affairs when the ill-fated Louis XVI ascended the throne. A radical change in the fiscal system, involving the abolition of the exemptions enjoyed by the privileged orders and the removal of customs barriers was urgently needed if the government was to pay its own way. The two successive ministers, Turgot and Necker, proposed many schemes of reform and retrenchment, but could not carry them out owing to the interested opposition of those whose privileges were threatened by abolition. The final blow to French national solvency was struck when France supported the revolted American colonies and thus became involved in war with Great Britain. This added enormously to her already overwhelming public debt and compelled the French king to summon the States General. This appeal to the nation amounted to a revolution, for it clearly showed that absolutism had failed and ceased to be self-supporting. Thus "financial causes lay at the root of the Revolution". But it is a mistake to think that the economic factor was the sole factor to cause the Revolution.

It was the social factor of inequality and class conflicts in the society and the psychological factor prepared by the thought movement of the age that produced a considerable heat which burst forth by the shock of the financial mismanagement and inequality. So said Guedella, 'The Revolution was precipitated by the economic factor and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fired by finance.'

7. *The Philosophy* :—

The material revolution of 1789 was preceded by a revolution in the realm of ideas. This intellectual revolt was brought about by a group of French philosophers of whom the most prominent were Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. First, it is a mistake to think that the philosophy was the only factor which produced heat and fire for the Revolution. On the other hand, already existent socio-political grievances were criticised, focussed and brought before the world by the philosophy. Their writings gave expression to the discontent and indignation which lay latent in the hearts of the French people. And lastly, besides reflecting the bourgeoisie grievances and supplying justification to sweep them away the philosophy brought about class-consciousness among the people and enabled them to regain confidence. Revolution was as if waiting for this intellectual backing. 'The Revolution was precipitated by the economic factors and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fired by finance. Thus the French philosophers habituated the people to the destructive criticism of the existing institutions and thereby prepared their minds for a revolutionary change.'

B. This statement makes it clear that the philosophy represented and reflected material grievances of the *Tiers Etat*. But the philosophers in the then France claimed to have laid down axiomatic truths and fundamental principles. In fact, like every other literature of its class the new thought movement of the period could not rise above the class-interest, aspirations and environment of the then

middle-class intellectualists. Most of the philosophers came out of the middle-class and to them their writings appealed most. Secondly, the peasantry or the lowest strata of the labour-class mostly uneducated remained outside its impact. The philosophy had little to do with their socio-economic grievances. This proves our view that the knowledge which they desired to impart was directed to justify and strengthen the stand of the middle class. The philosophers laid down fundamental human rights, Freedoms of speech, expression, worship and equalities political and legal were claimed to be universal truths but in fact these demands apparently reflected the then aspirations of the middle-class. But the philosophers could not lay down and had no idea of equal right to property, profession or social, political and economic justice and comprehensive idea of social regeneration on the basis of equality. And lastly, the philosophy had nothing to do with the class interests of the first two estates. But the impact of this thought movement undermined the moral basis and social standing of the landed aristocrats, secular as well as religious.

C. The fundamental basis of this new thought movement was rationalism. From the Newtonian principle the philosophers drew the idea that this universe is governed by a set of natural laws so long unnoticed by mankind. There is nothing arbitrary and unsystematic on this universe. But unfortunately many of the social institutions did not conform with the laws of nature and as such were outgrowths. They were exploiting the vitality of the society and were justifying their own ruin. It was now time for man to apply his rational judgment to analyse and verify all social ceremonies and institutions. This verification must be based on experiment and observation of an unprejudiced and vacant mind. If the institutions could not stand the test of rationalism and found to be unjustified outgrowths killing the vitality of the society they would be wiped out of the society. This fundamental idea was echoed by the philosophers of the period. First, Montesquieu was the leading philosopher of rationalism. In his *Persian Letters*

he directed his criticisms against corruptions, impatience and privileges. In his *Spirit of laws* he advocated the idea of the separation of the governmental power and machinery for its proper function. He was an ardent advocate of the constitutional monarchy and spoke highly of the English system of government. He exposed the fallacies of the theory of divine right of kings and the evils of absolute monarchy such as existed in France. Therefore, according to him a constitution and a set of civil rights embodied in it can safeguard the freedom of individuals.

The famous encyclopedists spread this rationalism through their popular literature. They were progressive in their views and under Diderot they published the celebrated *Encyclopedia*. It was the accumulation of destructive knowledge under prevailing social system. First, they opened doors of criticism and second, brought together several outstanding thinkers of the age under a common intellectual plane. Diderot and others were atheists and asserted that ultimate reality exists outside human consciousness. Halvetius developed his famous theory of education based on the thesis that human mind develops under the impact of environment. So the social man can be changed by changing its environment. In Mably we find the earliest manifestations of socialistic thinking.

The economic system of France was strongly criticised by a group of economists also known as Physiocrats. They were strongly opposed to every form of state interference in trade and commerce. They held that land was the sole source of wealth and so all taxation should be reduced to a single land tax. Adam Smith criticised mercantilism and advocated the *laissez faire* or free trade policy. From this they developed the true relationship of individual and state and the idea of individual liberty. Their writings had great influence on the course of the French Revolution and led to the abolition of internal customs duties in France during its early stages.

It is said that second half of the 18th century was the age of Voltaire who was the foremost champion of rationalism.

Voltaire, a master of biting satire enjoyed almost autocratic authority by reason of his powerful writings. He advocated the supremacy of reason and mercilessly attacked everything that failed to stand its test. He denounced the abuses of the state but directed his attack specially against the bigotry and intolerance of the church. His fiery shafts did much to undermine the respect for authority and loosened the hold of the Church and State on the minds of men. His destructive criticism did much to reduce the shock of the Revolution when it eventually came. But it should be noted that Voltaire was not a democrat. His ideal of government was a benevolent despotism. Very different in tone and tendency was the work of Rousseau. Voltaire aimed at destroying the existing institutions, while Rousseau came forward with a plan of social reconstruction. According to him society rests only upon an agreement of the persons who compose it "Man is born free and yet everywhere he is in chains"—This is the basis of his famous work the *Contrat Social*. According to its maxims, all governments rest upon the consent of the governed, "the will generale." In other words, he proclaimed the doctrine of equality of men, and sovereignty of the people. Such a theory aimed not merely at reform but wholesale reorganisation of society in accordance with the free will of the sovereign people. Rousseau's *Social Contract* was the gospel of democracy, of the divine right of the people and the infallibility of their decisions. The influence of the book was tremendous both in France and Europe and supplied the Revolution with its fighting creed. It disillusioned many thinkers though his idea of golden age is unhistorical, natural knowledge of man is unreal and nothing but ignorance and his theories of contractual origin of state and right to revolution are objects of criticism of modern thinkers.

But this thought movement was characterised by some limitations and these are the limitations of time and place. They were not revolutionaries and they did not even anticipate revolution. They believed in monarchy of the

constitutional type and paid no interest to social conflict between classes. They had little constructive suggestions and believed in change of heart of the ruling machinery. The idea of reform from above and their ignorance of the intricacies of human mind reflect only the limitations of their environment. But their importance lies in the realm of ideas. First, they broke down barriers of beliefs and prejudices and undermined the moral basis of the upper classes. Second, in course of time the philosophical ideas penetrated and took socialistic shape among the working class people of the society. Thus we find lower section had been gradually leaning towards violence when the upper section advocated peaceful settlement. The conflict between the Jacobins, Girondins and the moderates arrested the sweeping progress of revolution. Thirdly, as an impact of the philosophy attempts were made on the ministerial plane to reform the abuses of the administration. We find attempts of Turgot, Necker and others were covered with shame and disgrace. It was their failure that greatly contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution.

The French Revolution was greatly influenced by the English and American influence. The insurgents and the philosophers and especially Montesquieu were greatly inspired by the English constitutional monarchy. Secondly the English Revolution of 1688 had shown the way changes came in. Third, the state should be free from outside interference with regard to religious affairs—that example was shown by the settlement with the English church under Elizabeth. Fourthly, English parliamentary ideas influenced Voltaire and Rousseau developed Hobbesian idea of the origin of the state. And economic theory of laissez faire propounded by Adam Smith was greatly imbibed by the physiocrats. The American influence also contributed its share to lit the fire of the Revolution. To the revolutionaries American revolt against colonialism and triumph of nationalism was illustrated as a revolt against authority and vested interest. Secondly, the American revolt supplied a philosophy and a constitution to the French Revolution.

Third, the French army participated in the revolt and imbibed revolutionary ideas. And lastly, indirectly it brought bankruptcy on the French government and a financial crisis that ushered in the Revolution.

But naturally a question emerges, why the Revolution broke out first in France? Because outside France at that time material grievances were everywhere and in more deplorable conditions and secondly, the situation was improving in France more than in other countries. Thirdly, France as a maritime power had great scope of industrial and colonial expansion in order to ameliorate the condition of the working class. But the causes of the Revolution lies deeper. (a) French bourgeoisie far advanced in wealth and knowledge was ready to accept the teachings of new knowledge. (b) They paid taxes and debts much to the exchequer. Therefore, its insolvency would ruin them most (c) They could easily take the leadership and imbibe philosophical ideas. (d) They, above others, imbibed the revolutionary principles of U. S. A. and England which the other states had no access to. And lastly, Feudalism was there in France. In other states feudal lords had social obligations But the political philosophy of France represented in the idea of Grand moranchy of Louis XIV the monarch was made all in all. Feudal lords justified their existence by enjoying special privileges and not discharging any corresponding benefit to the state. Thus when the all in all king became weak and the parasite nobles when could not justify their existence naturally the privileged class came under the light of criticism of the bourgeoisie, the class which was still undeveloped in other states of Europe.

Q. 18. (a) Clearly explain the First phase of the French Revolution.

(b) Describe the achievements of Constitutional Assembly [1789-91]

(c) Why did the constitutional Assembly fail to utilise the Revolution and to consolidate its power?

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financial crisis. Half hearted attempts of Turgot and Necker proved futile against mounting discontent of feudal barons. The demand for extra taxation and popular clamour for changing the ancien regime compelled the monarch to summon the States-General and to recall dismissed Necker to head the ministry. The significance of this order was far reaching. "It contained an admission that the absolute monarchy had failed and it introduced a change from absolute to constitutional monarchy."

The States General contained three Estates and previously each of the three orders had an equal number of delegates and each order voted separately. Now the Third Estate on 5th may, 1789, on the first day of the meeting demanded that as it was not a feudal assembly the three orders were to meet as a single chamber in which each individual should have a vote. They remained firm against stubborn resistance of the clergy and the nobility in presence of a weak monarch. At last after much contention the Tiers Etat took the momentous step of declaring itself the National Assembly (June 17, 1789). The king under pressure from the court sought to oppose the revolutionary proceedings of the third Estate. But Mirabeau, a noble who had cast in his lot with the commons gave vent to a very strong expression hurling defiance at the king's orders. The king was ready with his courtiers and army and Necker was dismissed. The mob of Paris rose in fury against the king and stormed the state-prison called the Bastille, the symbol of tyranny and abuses of the Old Regime. The fall of Bastille was regarded as a triumph of liberty. The mob assumed control of Paris and a city militia called the National Guard was organised to maintain order under Lafayette.

The alarmed king yielded to the storm by sending away troops and recalling Necker and recognising National Guard. The Revolution now reached the municipal stage. Different towns set up municipal bodies and peasantry invaded their barons' dens. As an immediate effect of the peasant rising the nobles surrendered their feudal rights and

privileges in a memorable session of the National Assembly on the 4th of August 1789. The last relics of feudalism were swept out of France and the over-throw of the Old Regime was complete. On the 5th October a large number of furious women brought back the king from Versailles to Paris.

The National Assembly now assumed the name of Constituent Assembly [1789-1791] and its chief work was the framing of a constitution and the abolition of feudal injustice. The Assembly being influenced by American principle of the new order proclaimed the Declaration of Human Rights. It proclaimed that all men are born free and equal in rights and that sovereignty resides in the people. Rousseau's theory of social contract, popular sovereignty and equality before law were thus given a legal garb. Thus was championed the bourgeoisie conception of fundamental human political, social and religious rights. Secondly, the Constituent Assembly abolished feudal privileges and injustice. Rights of hunting, corvees and other customary services were abolished. The guild and similar close corporations were swept away and tithes were abandoned. Offices ceased to be purchasable and were thrown open to all. Thirdly, by the constitution France was to be governed by a king and a parliament known as the Legislative Assembly. The king was the head of the Executive to be assisted by some chosen ministers who were not to sit in the Legislature.

Applying the Montesquieu principle of separation of powers the executive and legislature were rigidly separated. The king was to control the army, the navy and was to conduct foreign affairs. But he could not declare war without the consent of the legislature. He was given only a power of suspensive veto.

All legislative power was entrusted to the Legislative Assembly. It was to consist of a single chamber the members of which [745] were to be elected for a term of two years by a system of indirect representation based upon a limited franchise. The principle of equality enshrined in the

Declaration of Human Rights was directly violated by requirements of property qualification which excluded a large number of citizens from the vote.

The judicial system of France was remodelled. Torture and *lettres de cachet* were abolished, new central and local courts were established and trial by jury was introduced. Strangely enough judges were decided to be elected. For purposes of administration and local government the constituent Assembly abolished old provinces and France was divided into 83 departments of uniform size and equal rights. Each department was subdivided into districts, cantons and communes. The affairs of every department were to be managed by an elected council. A highly centralised government was thus decentralised.

Fourthly, the Assembly now turned its face to solve impending financial crisis. At the proposal of Talleyrand and supported by Mirabeau the Assembly confiscated all the endowment lands of the church and nationalised religious institutions. Then the expedient was devised by issuing paper money called *assignats* upon the security of these church lands.

And last measure of the constituent Assembly was the reorganization of the church. Guided by the anticlerical bias of the revolutionaries and being influenced by French Philosophers the Constituent Assembly abolished clerical privileges, tithes and suppressed religious orders. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergies the old dioceses were abolished. Each of the new departments was made a bishopric. Bishops and priests were to be elected by popular vote and paid by the state. The Pope was to be informed merely and not to confirm their elections. The election of Catholic clergies, nationalisation of church property gave a rude shock to the conservative people and thus had a disastrous effect on the course of the revolution.

If we draw an estimate of the measures of the Constituent Assembly several points would come before our eyes. Chief merits of the Constituent Assembly are three in

number. The most abiding part of its work was the sweeping away of the old social system of privilege and inequality and the partial building up of a new social order based upon legal equality. Secondly, it gave expression to the revolutionary slogan of career open to talents and people could not participate in their government. And lastly, the departments which it created to supersede the old provinces proved permanent and salutary. Provincial privileges and local traditions were swept away which paved the way for national unity.

But due to some grave blunders the works of the Constituent Assembly were vitiated by certain serious defects. First, excessive addiction for election. The election for judges and clergies proved fatal to the cause of the Revolution. Second, The franchise was limited by property qualification. This was against the principle of equality so eloquently proclaimed by the Declaration of Rights. Third, the over-issue of assignats directly shocked the economy. Fourth, it showed a fatal distrust to the executive authority. The power left to the king 'made his position untenable for a strong monarch, unbearable for a weak one'. The plan of a unicameral legislature and the executive and legislature were so sharply separated that communication between king's ministers and representatives of the people was quite impossible. Fifth, a strong centralised government was deliberately decentralised when elected local officials were entrusted with the local governments, not responsible to the centre. And lastly, most disastrous defect of the Constituent Assembly was found in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It produced a schism in the church and divided the people of France in their attitude towards the Revolution. A large number of lower clergy who had greatly favoured the Revolution so far, now turned against it for consciences' sake. It estranged the king and made the Pope's position uneasy in the Catholic world.

But we must judge these defects in the light of facts and circumstances. It was the period of bourgeoisie domination.

They were mainly conservative elements of the new order who wanted to control and regulate revolutionary waves and to set up in France a constitutional regime of the English type. They were apt for destruction of the old regime but not for constructing a new order. It was their failure that led France to the next stage of the Revolution.

- 19 Q. (a) Describe the climax of the Revolution [1791-93] and the fall of monarchy.
- (b) Assess the achievements of Revolutionary France from 1789 to 1793.
- (c) What causes do you attribute to the fall of monarchy ?
- (d) How far the weakness of the Monarchy was responsible for the onward march of revolution ? [See also answer to Q. 17]

The climax of the Revolution was reached with the fall of monarchy. The upper middle class lost control over the Parisian mob and the idea of constitutional monarchy in France was for ever lost. Two events precipitated the crisis : (1) , death of Mirabeau ; he was the champion of constitutional regime and the (2) attempted flight of the king on 20th June of 1791. On the frontier, he was captured and brought back to Paris. It had far-reaching consequences. (1) It shook the loyalty of the people and thus created a republican party ; (2) It was welcomed at first in Europe but the fall of monarchy provoked tremendous agitation and the revolution was misunderstood. France now had to face a formidable foreign aggression.

But the causes of the fall of monarchy was not far to seek. First. economic crisis, propaganda of the political clubs and excitement against foreign aggression provoked assertiveness and self-confidence of the people. Second, the codification of the Civil Constitution of the clergies incited tremendous reaction in the country. Third, The Constitution of 1791 lacked solidarity. Fourth, transfer of the seat of the government from Versailles to Paris strengthened the hands of the Parisian mob. Fifth, Jacobin club was there to invite

the people. They wanted to champion the cause of the urban proletariat. Sixth, untimely death of Mirabeau was also another cause. Seventh, the French military system was also fully conscious of this revolution. And lastly, vacillation and inherent weakness of the king himself was also responsible for the fall of the French monarchy.

The Constituent Assembly, its work being finished, now declared itself dissolved and retired from the scene strengthening the hands of the republican party. The Legislative Assembly met on 1st October, 1791. It was composed of 745 members, most of them were infected with the extreme view of the republicans. These views were spread by the political club which sprang up in different quarters. The Jacobin Club was at first moderate but with the disappearance of Mirabeau and Lafayette the party came under the clutches of its extreme leader Robespierre. The Cordelier Club, led by Danton, was radical from the very beginning and its members were recruited from the lower orders of the society. The members of the Legislative Assembly soon began to group themselves into parties, (1) The constitutionalists, called the Feuillants, were in favour of supporting the newly framed constitution of 1791. (2) The Girondists so called from the district of Gironde from which many of their leaders came, were moderate republicans. (3) The Jacobins [later called the mountain from the raised seats they occupied] were the extreme section of the democratic party.

From the very start sharp conflict of interest destroyed unity of action in the assembly. (1) The first disagreement arose out of the property qualification of voters ; (2) another point of difference was monarchical regime versus republicanism ; (3) Marat's slogan of onward march of the revolution—more extreme wing now demanded radical change in the country and the moderates lost hold on them ; (4) Another vague demand put forward by the moderates and Robespierre was for state control over capital and means of production.

The first sign of the coming crisis arose out of a sharp

controversy over the treatment to be meted out to the king. It was decided that the king would be called the king of the French. Secondly, it passed a decree requiring all priests to abide by the Civil Constitution of the clergies. The non-juring clergy i. e., those who refused to accept the Civil Constitution were to be removed from their offices. Thirdly, it passed a decree requiring the emigres to return to France by a fixed date on pain of being exposed to the penalty of death and confiscation of their property. The king vetoed both the decrees. The mob lost control over the king. The result was that on June 20, 1792 the mob of Paris broke into the palace of Tuilleries and tried to coerce the king to withdraw his veto.

This incident led to a two-edged crisis. First. The Girondins now attempted to put a final stop to monarchy and second, to wage war against the neighbouring states. Jacobins led by Brissot held it necessary for (1) it would offer an opportunity to eliminate the moderates; (2) War would finally disclose king's choice or aversion for the revolution; (3) it would spread revolutionary principles outside France. The war-minister Norbonne thought; (1) war would lead to a restoration of military discipline and (2) it would cause a patriotic upsurge against foreign states. But against these views Robespierre put forth counter-arguments. (1) War at that stage would hamper progress of revolution and constructive activities at home; (2) in the event of war there was chance of passing power into the hands of the king or to the parliamentarians.

In course of the debate in 1792 March by the eloquence of the Girondins the ministry resigned and a new ministry from among the Girondins was formed. Very soon conflict with Austria and Prussia became eminent. First, the French emigrants took shelter in Austria; Second, France refused to pay feudal dues of Alsace and other frontier regions to German barons. Third, France annexed the papal territory of Avignon. Fourth, Maria Antionette, the queen of Louis XVI was the sister of Leopold of Austria. Therefore, menace to the French king led the issuing of

Austro-Prussian declaration of Pillnitz threatening France to stop war against the king and Foreign powers on 27th August, 1791.

The declaration of Pillnitz provoked tremendous excitement in France ; war-mongering and distrust for the king reached its fever-heat. In 1792 [20th April] the Girondins compelled the king to declare war against Austria.

The war began disastrously for the French. And victorious army led by Duke of Brunswick by a manifesto threatened France. The manifesto produced two serious results. First, the king was suspended from his office and the mob sacked Tuilleries and the mountain took drastic steps to defend France. The Jacobins in a fit of insane passion carried out the series of organised September massacre. They also gained success over the Prussians in the battle of Valmy, and the Austrians in the Jemappes. The plan for the French Republic was matured with this. Hence it has been remarked that the republic in France in 1792 was the result of two factors—the Prussian invasion and Parisian Jacobinism.

With the deposition of the king the constitution of 1791 came to an end and the National Convention met on September 21, 1792 after the election based on universal franchise. It passed a decree of perpetual banishment against the emigres and adopted a revolutionary calendar to be dated from the birth of the republic. A committee was appointed to draw up a new constitution. But a sharp conflict emerged among the Girondins and the Jacobins due to some causes.

(1) Girondins believed in parliamentary method but the Jacobins in violent popular agitation.

(2) Girondins believed in lofty ideals while Jacobins were more realists and active propagandists.

3. Girondins believed in decentralised republic while the Jacobins wanted a centralised form.

(4) Girondins supported propertied interests while the Jacobins opposed it.

(5) The Girondins came out of the bourgeoisie while

the Jacobins thought themselves representatives of the proletariat.

This struggle proved decisively in favour of the Jacobins as the Girondins were discredited on the question of the fate of the king. Louis was guillotined on January 21, 1793 on the charge of high treason. The Jacobins who demanded immediate execution of the king won the race and the Girondins fell who wanted to submit his case before the whole people. The execution of the king was regarded as both a crime and blunder. He was the most unselfish and the best intentioned of French kings but he was branded as a traitor. It was also a blunder as it defeated the very purpose of the revolution i. e., friendship with all nations as it threw France into a century-long war-front.

Hence followed the reign of Terror, which instead of consolidating the republic, brought about its downfall and anarchy.

20. Q. (a) What do you know of the Reign of Terror ?
 (b) Can the Reign of Terror be justified ?
 (c) Who were the Girondins ? Indicate the part played by them in the French Revolution ?
 [See also answer to Q. 19]
 (d) Describe the role of the extremist upsurge in the Revolution. Why did the Jacobins fail to retain power in their own hands?

The third phase of the Revolution begins with the reign of Terror in 1793 and it lasted up to July 1794. Three factors contributed largely to its emergence. First, fear of foreign invasion and clamour at home for war. Second, internal revolt and reaction against revolutionaries and third, conflict of interest between the Girondins and the Jacobins.

At first the revolutionaries had no idea of waging war against foreign powers and the neighbouring states satisfied themselves thinking that the revolution was merely a local upsurge. But in 1791 France annexed Avignon and in 1792

for several reasons the Girondins encouraged clamour for war. First. This was due to assertiveness and self-confidence of the Girondins. Second it presented a heart-throb of the aneient regimes outside France. Third, This was also due to the idea that despotism and democracy cannot co-exist and fourthly, the foreign states became aggressive due to fear of revolution and greed for territorial acquisition. But for the outbreak of war there are certain material causes in favour of France : First, The revolutionaries were prompted to wage war in self-defence, second, for spreading the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity and lastly to gain the natural frontier of France.

At the advent of the war in 1793 England joined hands with Austria, Prussia, Spain and Sardinia in order to partition France. England had two interests in the war, first, to supply money and ammunitions to the European powers. secondly, to cripple the French commercial power. Against the great coalition France could not save herself for (1) breeding of indiscipline in the French army : (2) emigration of the able generals and (3) disorganised and unstable government. But France was saved due to Catharine's design for partition of Poland as well, as all European eyes now turned towards Poland.

In the meantime, France gained certain decisive victory. First, France defeated Prussia in the battle of Valmy. Second, she occupied Belgium thwarting the Austrian domination in the battle of Jemappes. Third. she captured Savoy and Nice from Sardinia. Fourth, she occupied certain regions in the Rhenish frontier from Austria. But these territorial acquisitions proved to be a menace due to two reasons. First, the revolutionaries made it a policy of exploitation and second, the French military system was not well-organised.

II. The second factor for emergence of the Reign of Terror was internal revolts. First, the Venedian uprising was in the shape of a peasant revolt which occurred in La Vendee. It was a protest against compulsory conscription and religious intolerance. In the south of

France the middle class uprising was a protest against excessive taxation for war and domination of Paris Commune. Thirdly, towns like Marseilles, Lyons protested against excessive radicalism.

III. The third factor was the Jacobin-Girondin tussle over again. The Girondins at first clamoured for war. But early defeats of France strengthened the hands of the Jacobins or mountains. The desertion of Dumouriez who belonged to the Girondins accentuated the bitterness of feeling. Angry disputes followed and two parties accused each other of being traitors to the cause of the Revolution. The Girondins wanted to punish men who were responsible for the September Massacres and to restrict the supremacy of the Paris Commune. But the Jacobin-mountains resolved upon a decisive stroke against impending disaster. They organised an insurrection against the Girondins and the infuriated mob of Paris invaded the Convention and compelled it to arrest Girondin leaders. The fall of the Girondins was due to many causes. First, they were far less organised than the Jacobins. Second, they strove after revolutionary aims while rejecting any resort to mob violence. Third, they were unpractical idealists and could not put forward any effective and vigorous programme. The fall of the Girondins left Robespierre, Danton and Marat supreme among the mountains to carry on unchallenged the reign of terror. The Reign of Terror was the darkest and the most terrible episode of the Revolution. It was necessitated for (1) raising new recruits and supply of war ; (2) to suppress local traitors and other counter-revolutionary forces, (3) to reassure patriotic feelings among the soldiers in the battle-front and for the domination of the Paris Commune and the mountains.

The mountains propounded a draft constitution which never came into light. Its historical importance lies in (3) (1) The principle of republicanism ; (2) universal suffrage ; referendum but no recognition of recall, (4) sovereignty of the legislature and the weakness of the executive and (5) lastly the acceptance of the national sovereignty and the

idea of nation-state of Rousseau. But their idea of government was democratic though, in fact, the executive for emergency remained out and out autocratic. Therefore, they set up a strong government by creating a new Committee of Public Safety, consisting of 12 members with almost unlimited executive power. To meet the internal dangers and external aggressions the Committee organised a machinery of terror. (1) The law of suspects, which authorised the arrest of persons suspected of being traitors or anti-revolutionary. (2) The Revolutionary tribunal. It was an extraordinary criminal court, created for the speedy trial of the suspects and (3) lastly, there was the Square of the Revolution where the heads of the unfortunate victims fell under the stroke of guillotine. Over thousand persons were executed by the sentence of the tribunal among whom were prominent, Marie Antoinette, Madame Roland, Duke of Orleans. It suppressed the Venedian peasant uprisings and revolt of the middle class in the southern cities of France. In the mean-time, Marat was stabbed to death by Miss Corday leaving behind Danton and Robespierre to fight for power against one another.

Along with the measures taken to avert internal dangers the Committee took energetic steps to encounter external enemies. The war department was in the hands of Carnot. On the basis of *levée en masse* he created and equipped the biggest army till now known to history. As a result, the English were beaten at Hondschoote and compelled to raise the sieze of Dunkirk. The Austrians were defeated at Wattignies. The Allies were forced back on the Rhine. Prussia and Spain concluded peace with France by the Treaty of Basle in 1795. The great coalition was broken up.

But as soon as the danger of foreign aggression and internal revolt was averted the reign of terror lost all its justification. The question of terror divided opinions and led to split in the mountain. The Hebertists, the radical wing urged on social changes of the most radical nature and denounced Catholic Church. Robespierre

saved the situation by suppressing these ultra-revolutionaries. The Dantonists also fell on account of their moderation. They were supporters of Terror as long as it was necessary. Now they wanted to mitigate the rigour of this system and to return to a more humane policy. But mercy, to Robespierre and his satellites, was treason and they were anxious enough to guillotine Danton and his associates.

The fall of Danton left Robespierre supreme on the scene. He overthrew the worship of Reason and decreed the existence of the Supreme Being and immortality of the Soul. This high priest now took step to tighten the screw of the Terror. At last an opposition was organised against him and the convention outlawed Robespierre and his adherents. They lost life on 28th July, 1794. Four immediate threats brought about his downfall :

(1) Fear of colleagues at the threat of another purging of traitors ; (2) reaction of ordinary members ; (3) lack of organisation in Paris and lastly, general reactions caused by the excesses.

With the fall of Robespierre the Reign of Terror came to an end and the Thermidorians got the upperhand in the state. They swept away the last traces of terrorism. With this the Revolution reached its final stage.

- 21 Q. (a) Sketch the history of the convention, of the Directory and subsequent rise of Napoleon.
- (b) "The Consulate codified the Revolution". Amplify.
- (c) "The Consulate had imposed peace on Europe, it remained to give peace to France."—Amplify
- (d) How did Napoleon come to power ?
- (e) Describe Napoleon as a conqueror upto the victory of Austerlitz (1805). [See also answer to Q. 22].

The fall of Robespierre in July, 1794 was followed by a milder regime upto October, 1795. The Reign of Terror

had saved France from internal revolt and external aggression. There was nothing to justify its further continuance.

The Convention took up the long-neglected task of framing the constitution for republican France. It was known as the Constitution of the year III. The executive was entrusted to a Directory consisting of five members. The legislative power was entrusted to two houses called the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients. To avert the possibility of a monarchist legislature the convention further decreed that two thirds of the new legislature should be chosen from amongst the deputies of the present Convention. This measure was unpopular because of the weak executive who had no legislative initiative and no change in the rigidity of franchise. Only monarchy controlled by bourgeoisie was replaced by republic controlled by the same.

Naturally the bourgeoisie and the royalists organised an insurrection against the convention known as the insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire. Napoleon was then at Paris. He was entrusted with the task of defending the convention against the Parisian mob. He dispersed the mob and saved the Convention. (1) Within one year this Convention attempted to bring about internal peace and stability in the governmental machinery. (2) It gave to the world the metric system which is the most perfect system of weights and measures. (3) It worked at the civil code which aimed at founding the whole social life on the principle of equality. Napoleon afterwards carried it to completion. (4) Fourth, It drew up a splendid scheme of national education but could not carry it out for lack of funds. Among the invaluable creations of the Convention were Normal School, the Polytechnique School, the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library and the Institute. And lastly, (5) it framed a new constitution of France. On October 26, the convention declared itself dissolved.

The rule of the Directory continued in France for four years and it was the most corrupted machinery in France due to two reasons. First it was controlled by the corrupted

bourgeoisie. Second, as a reaction against reign of terror demoralisation reigned supreme now. Therefore, the Directory failed to give its country a long cherished peace and stability. The causes are : First, due to weak executive and lack of responsibility to the legislature ; Second, inflation of the paper-money and its attendant evils of rise in prices and economic crisis. Third, the Directory wanted to divert attention of the people by clamouring for war. Fourth, the wealthy persons, became aggrieved against it for forced loan. Fifthly, the law of hostages which required provinces to send hostages in the centre dissatisfied the provinces. These causes contributed largely to the emergence of Napoleon. The directory had its credit in the foreign policy which illustrates the early rise of Napoleon. By a quick march he unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Turin and compelled the Sardinians to sue for peace by the cession of Savoy and Nice. Next the Austrians were driven out of Lombardy. He annexed Mantua and Venice after the battles of Areola and Rivoli. He invaded the Papal territories and forced upon the Pope the Treaty of Tolentine by which the latter agreed to maintain a neutral attitude. The conqueror then crossed the Alps and by a rapid march threatened Vienna. This sudden move frightened the Emperor Francis II who concluded a peace with Napoleon by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). The Treaty of Campo Formio initiated the process of changing the map of Europe which was to be carried on during the Napoleonic regime. By this treaty Austria ceded Belgium to France and recognised the French possession of the Ionian islands and extension of the French frontiers up to the Rhine. She also recognised the two republics which Napoleon had created in Italy and made dependent of France. These were the Ligurian Republic created out of the old republic of Geneva and the Cisalpine Republic, created out of the Austrian province of Lombardy. In return for these concessions France gave to Austria Venice including the Venetian territories in Istria and Dalmatia. Bonaparte now secured to France the scienti-

fic frontier for which Louis XIV had striven in vain. With this traditional policy the Directory now added a second i.e., the policy of surrounding France with a belt of dependent territories serving as so many buffer-states of the Revolution. Moreover, it shattered the remains of the once great first coalition and led France without any enemy on the continent. England now came face to face with France. The Treaty of Campo Formio was thus a great triumph for France. Napoleon now attempted to conquer Egypt but after the battle of the Nile he made his way home. These early successes of Napoleon were enough for his gradual ascendancy.

The fall of the Directory was brought about as much by the inherent defect of its constitution as by its blunder in the foreign policy. Second, it was losing its hold on the public mind on account of want of harmony among the Directors themselves as well as between the Legislature and the Directory. The government of the Directory was tyrannical without being efficient. The bourgeoisie was alarmed by its policy of forced loan. The labourers resented the suppression of Babeuf's conspiracy while the religious feeling of the provincials was outraged by the persecution of Catholicism. The Directors who lacked popularity could maintain their position only with the help of the army. Taking advantage of this situation Abbe Sieyès, one of the Directors sought to overthrow the government and set up a new constitution. Napoleon returned from Egypt. By the Coup d'état of 18th Brumaire a provisional Consulate was appointed to draw up a constitution and to carry on the government. Sieyès, Ducos and Bonaparte were the three consuls appointed.

The Consulate.

The emergence of the Consulate necessitated the revision of the constitution. Its forms and details as drawn up by Sieyès and amended by Napoleon gave to France a Consular Constitution. The following were its main features.

(1) The executive power was vested in three consuls who were to be elected by the Senate for ten years. One of them was to be the First Consul who was to have the power of making war and peace, appointing ministers, ambassadors and all other officers, both civil and military. The other two consuls had only a consultative voice. (2) The Legislative functions were distributed amongst three separated bodies, namely the Council of State, Tribune and the legislative body. The first drafted all laws and bills, the second discussed them without voting and the third voted upon them without discussing. There was also to be a fourth body higher than the others. It was a Senate of sixty members whose function was to reject or to ratify the measures referred to it by the Legislative Body. But the members of the Council of State were to be nominated by the First Consul.

The constitution of the Year VIII was a mere sham. Appearances of popular government were kept up to deceive the people. All power was practically concentrated in the hands of the First Consul. France was a republic in name, in fact, the government became a veiled monarchy. Napoleon as the First Consul took long step towards making himself Emperor.

Napoleon now met the Second Coalition constituted of Austria and England. Moreau was sent to attack the Austrians from Germany, Napoleon set out to meet them in Italy. In the battle of Marengo the Austrians were completely defeated and Napoleon recovered all Italy at a stroke. Moreau won a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden which opened the road to Vienna. These reverses compelled Francis II of Austria to sue for peace. By the peace of Luneville which followed, Austria reconfirmed all the cessions made to France by the Treaty of Campo Formio and agreed that the Rhine should remain boundary of France on the east.

After the peace with Austria France stood face to face with England. The British ships tried to search even neutral ships for French goods. Napoleon instigated the

Czar to revive against England the armed neutrality, consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark. After a protracted warfare at sea the Peace of Amiens was concluded. England restored all conquests from France and her allies except Ceylon and Trinidad and promised to evacuate Malta. France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal states and to restore Egypt to the Sultan of Turkey. The peace was favourable to France. England tacitly recognised the predominance of France on the Continent as it was established by the Treaty of Luneville (1802). Apparently the Peace was a great triumph for Napoleon but this one-sided settlement cannot prove lasting. It was rich with future consequences. The peace did not conform to the reality of the European situation. But internally, it made the position of Napoleon supreme in France and he became the Emperor.

22. Q. (a) "The Empire was not an interruption but an extension of the Revolution"—Amplify. (b) "The Empire which was the product of personal predominance of Napoleon and military predominance of France was an accident in the history of the Revolution: it was the Revolution in its European aspect" Amplify.

The French constitution of 1791 declared that France had no idea of dominating foreign states. But from 1792 onwards a tendency for declaring war against the European states emerged. The causes are apparently to give a death-blow to the European ancient regimes and to spread the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity within Europe realised by the revolution. Through this war the zeal of aggrandisement of the Paris Commune manifested itself. At first the French sustained defeats in Belgium, in the Italian border but under Carnot it was able to break down the coalition of forces and repulsed the blockade of Dunkirk and concluded the treaty of Basle (1795). But constant warfare and the reign of terror tired the French people.

It was this period when the career of Napoleon unfolded itself. During the Directorate the government of Napoleon

took the command of the French army and won battles in Italy. He compelled Sardinia to cede Savoy and Nice, repulsed the Austrians from Lombardy and Mantua and occupied Venice. He snatched away some portion of the Papal states and then crossing the Alps bowed down Austria in the treaty of Campo Formio of 1797. This brought the end of the Directorate Regime and also of the Holy Roman Empire.

After becoming the first consul Napoleon conducted his second Italian expedition and repulsed the Austrians in the battle of Sarenga and concluded the Treaty of Luneville (1800). This brought France face to face with England and Napoleon built up an anti-English league of European states by fomenting Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Prussia. But this armed neutrality came to an end in the treaty of Amiens in 1802 when England recognised the recent conquests of Napoleon.

This is the triumph of the domineering zeal of France, especially of the Paris Commune and Napoleon assumed the title of Emperor. The tired French people was made to believe that Napoleon would preserve the principles of the revolution. The treaty of Amiens proved abortive when England declared war in 1805 and built up the third coalition of European powers including England, Austria, Russia and Sweden. In the battle of Ulm the Austrian general surrendered and opened the way to Vienna. But in the battle of Trafalgar the French navy sustained heavy defeats in the hands of Nelson. Napoleon swept away this humiliation in the battle of Austerlitz against the combined forces of Russia and Austria. In 1805 by the treaty of Pressburg he completed nearly his reorganisation of the map of Europe. He compelled Prussia to sign the treaty of Schonbrunn and gave her Hanover to her embarrassment. In 1806 Prussia declared war and fought singularly the battles of Jena and Austerdatt. In 1807 Napoleon fought battles against Russia and concluded the treaty of Tilsit after the Russian defeat of Friedland. The Treaty of Tilsit was the summit of the Napoleonic glory and he satisfied the early am-

bitions of the French revolutionaries on the point of sword. But he was successful not only as a conqueror. He spread the revolutionary principles in those conquered lands and brought about a drastic change in the map of Europe. Italy saw its first unification in the kingdom of Italy which was before Cis-Alpine Republic. In the north he transformed the the Batavian Republic into the kingdom of Holland. But a great change came over Germany. He swept away ecclesiastical states and abolished imperial knighthood and 112 free cities. After the treaty of Pressburg he built up the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg and the confederation of the Rhine opened the way for German unity and German nationalism of the later period. Napoleon became its protector and the Holy Roman emperor became only the Austrian emperor. In the Iberian peninsula he brought some changes but the Spanish wars proved ruinous for him.

Besides reorganisation of the map of Europe Napoleon abolished the ancient regime and introduced well-regulated administration. Napoleon thought that the sovereignty of the people lies in governing men as they wish to be governed. As a protector and vanguard of the revolution he brought several changes in the administration. First, he abolished the ancient regimes, feudal privileges and its attendant anarchy. He restored law and order by organising the army. Secondly, he also followed a policy of reconciliation by allying with the kings of Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg and others like Denmark. He also offered amnesty to political offenders and appointed talented persons in administrative departments. He satisfied one slogan of revolution "career open to talents". Third, his religious policy also brought about a settlement in revolutionary tendencies and by establishing freedom of worship and religion he encouraged respect to authority. In the Concordat of 1801 Napoleon and Pius VII met each other half way and won the heart of the European Catholics. Fourth, he also organised local and provincial administrations of his empire by dividing his empire into departments and appointing prefects and mayors in those local divisions. Fifth, he also reorganised

the financial administration by bringing financial uniformity in taxation and tax-collection and encouraging trade, industry and banking business. Sixth, he organised the administration of justice, introduced trial by jury and brought about system and uniformity in local laws and customs by the introduction of Code Napoleon. Seventh, he also was responsible for spreading French ideas and encouraging liberal, secular education by establishing academic institutions.

As a consequence (1) trade, industry and other economic activities developed in Europe which gave rise to the middle-class in those states and marked the ruin of the ancient regime and feudal privileges. Secondly, he satisfied the revolutionary principle of legal and political equality by the Code Napoleon, religious freedom, emancipation of serfs etc. Thirdly, he opened the way for the unifications of Italy and Germany which took shape in the later period. But judging from a different angle Napoleonic empire also marked a negation of the Revolution. He destroyed the Jacobin trend of the revolution with its attendant principles by restoring hereditary monarchy, aristocratic principles, titles, court-life, reconciliation with Catholicism, by suppressing civil and political liberty of the people. Secondly, as time went on the people forgot the beneficial side of his administration. They were compelled to realise the naked expansionism of the French middle-class. After Tilsit Napoleon abandoned the idea of liberating Europe and aimed at dominating it. Napoleonic militarism proved tyrannical to the people of Europe. His system of forced conscription and especially his continental system oppressed the general people under the French domination. Thirdly, being a champion of revolution Napoleon had neglected the aspirations of the popular force and his peninsular war was mostly responsible for his ruin. This roused the patriotism not only of the people of the Iberian peninsula, but also of Europe which speaks against Napoleon's championing of the French Revolution.

These points draw our attention to the fact that empire

was the result not only of the revolution but also of the dominating ambition of Napoleon and also of the French people which manifested itself in the Paris Commune.

23. (a) Describe briefly the imperialism of Napoleon. (B) "Napoleon was one of the greatest reformers of the world".—Amplify. (c) Describe Napoleon as civil administrator.

On 18th May 1804 Napoleon became Emperor of the French people. The people, tired of incessant warfare, welcomed him for peace and stability. Second, the people sincerely believed that Napoleon would preserve the valuable achievements of the French Revolution. Third, Napoleon's magnetic influence had drawn the people to his side and lastly, the people wanted to save themselves under the shadow of Napoleon against external aggression.

Therefore, Napoleon devoted himself to the task of reorganizing the government of France and building up afresh the fabric of social order. His aims were to heal the wounds of the nation, to secure efficiency of administration and to ensure a large measure of social and fiscal equality.

His first measure was the restoration of law and order. All the anarchical elements were suppressed and discontented elements were reconciled. This was shown not only in preserving intact the redistribution of properties among peasantry and reorganising the police and military departments but also with the proclamation of an amnesty for most political offenders. He sought to enlist the sympathy of every section of the community by doing away with all party distinctions. The emigres and the non-juring clergy were sympathetically dealt with and offices were thrown open to all including the royalists and girondists provided they would acquiesce in the existing system.

Third, Napoleon found that the Civil Constitution of the clergy had alienated a considerable section of the people. He sought to win their gratitude by restoring the Roman Catholic Church. He came to an agreement with the Pope in 1801, known as the Concordat. (1) By it the Civil

Constitution was annulled and (2) Separation Degree of 1795 was abolished, (3) By it catholicism was recognised as "the religion of the great majority of the French people" (4) The Pope concurred in the confiscation of the property of the Church and (3) the state in return assumed the maintenance of the clergy. (6) But the state would not ordinarily interfere with the church services (7) the catholic hierarchy was restored and the practice of elective clergy was abolished. The Bishops were to be nominated by the State but invested by the Pope, (8) They must take the oath of fidelity to government. (9) France was divided into fifty Bishoprics and ten arch-bishoprics. Thus the Catholic Church was re-established though not in its pre-revolutionary power. It was made dependent on the state. Napoleon made a political use of religion. Though he re-established Catholicism he allowed complete religious tolerance to all sects.

Fourth, Napoleon built up an efficient central government. He appointed efficient ministers at the head of different departments irrespective of creed and entrusted them with distinct obligations. Talleyrand appointed as adviser in foreign affairs, Fouche, a corrupt jacobin, as minister-in-charge of internal affairs; Carnot, a moderate was charged with military administration, Gaudin acted as Finance Minister, Chaptal put the interior of France in order, Portalis despite his Clichian leanings was entrusted with the compilation of the Code Napoleon.

Fifth, the system of local government was centralised. Thus he reduced the elected councils to impotence and placed the "departments" and smaller administrative units, such as arrondissements and communes, in the hands of prefects, sub-prefects and mayors who were all appointed either directly or indirectly by himself. This system restored order but ignored the ideas of self-government.

Sixth, reform was made in the realm of financial administration. The chronic internal and external disturbances, inflation of paper-money, rise of prices of essential commodities made the financial crisis inevitable. Gaudin, a

brilliant financier successfully rescued the state from financial troubles. He took several measures : (1) institution of an income-tax to solve financial deadlock ; (2) Regular collection of taxes under state control, the old unhealthy tradition of letting others collect taxes was replaced by a system of collection under Receivers-General at every department ; (3) *Caissé de amortissement*, a sort of reserve fund consisting of the large securities deposited by the Receivers-General. This measure (1) kept the officials honest and (2) provided the Government with a ready fund. (3) Foundation of the Bank of France, a semi-state bank on the model of the Bank of England. This central Bank served as a check to extravagance and also supported the financial system of the state. (5) Innovation of National Debt (*Grand Libre*)—Its principle was based on the modern idea that there are people willing to invest their money with the state. This recognition of a new economic system, inspired by the English example, brought financial stability in France.

Seventh, Napoleon's greatest achievement in the work of internal re-construction was the Civil Code known as the Code Napoleon. Pre-revolutionary France had been governed by a perplexing variety and number of laws. And these laws were revised and systematically codified. Napoleon's famous code gave to France a common system of law, at once clear, orderly and systematic and thereby made justice more rapid, cheap and reliable. It established social equality in the eyes of law, systematised penal, procedural and commercial codes, secured religious toleration to all and perpetuated much of the social gains that had been won by the revolution.

Eighth, Napoleon recognised the responsibility of the state for spreading free, compulsory, primary education to all. For secondary education he established excellent well-equipped institutions with technical education as the chief aim, (1) 29 lyens for secondary education, (2) Reorganisation of the polytechnic ; (3) law schools and lastly, he undertook maintenance of the normal primary schools.

established by the Convention wherever possible. But he had no idea of basic education. The education destined to educate the middle class students was hardly national.

And lastly, he encouraged trade and industry under state patronage. He also created a new aristocracy of merit by instituting the Legion of Honour. This satisfied the French love of glory and even to this day a ribbon of the Legion of Honour is the most coveted French decoration. He thus created a new aristocracy faithful to him.

24. Q. Describe Napoleon's relation with the Revolution.

"I am the child of the Revolution" said Napoleon once. At other time he said, "I negated the Revolution,"—Can you explain the contradiction ?

The answer to the question, how far the Napoleonic regime was a product of the Revolution depends on how we understand the French Revolution. The French Revolution implied (1) a moderate middle-class uprising and (2) on the other, an extremist upsurge represented by the Jacobin movement. The Jacobin movement, though differing completely from the first phase of the same movement had one negative aspect in common i. e. destruction of the ancient regime with its attendant evils and socio-economic systems. But disagreement was sharp on the point of reorganisation of the socio-economic frame-work of France. Napoleon's statements made his position all the more contradictory. His claim to be the child of the Revolution implied a continuation of revolutionary principles under his rule. Yet he is said to have asserted that he negated the Revolution. On close observation both seem true from opposite angles and the apparent contradiction melts away. As a child of the Revolution he preserved the valuable achievements of the first phase of the Revolution. He negated, on the other hand, the extremist upsurge of the Jacobin phase of the Revolution.

Child of the Revolution :—(1) His rule was not marked by any restoration of the ancient regime. All features of

old France's aristocratic feudal privileges etc. were absent in general. (2) His regime had not undone the confirmation of the confiscation and transfer of property which was made by the Constituent Assembly in the first phase of the Revolution. (3) Napoleon satisfied one slogan of the Revolution, a typical middle class slogan : 'career open to talents' by opening doors of all administrative and military posts for middle class candidates irrespective of caste and creed. (4) The inefficient administration of the old order came to be replaced by effective and modern system of bureaucracy which was marked by financial stability. That gave tremendous impetus to the French trade and industry. He systematised and codified the French laws, reorganised the judicial system, introduced trial by jury that ensured individual liberty. (5) Moreover, Legal equality was enshrined in the code Napoleon (6) He fulfilled the aspiration of the Revolution by removing the obstacles, retarding economic enterprise. Trade and industry gathered momentum. The much-criticised Continental System, though a political measure was also economic in character, being aimed at the commercial domination of Europe (7) The much-discussed popular sovereignty was enshrined in the plebiscite. But the true nature of the Napoleonic rule was that it was an autocracy based on popular consent. (8) The Napoleonic regime also marked an extension of the revolutionary aims throughout Europe. His very intervention and conquest of the European states meant the overthrow of feudal privileges, introduction of the Code Napoleon, bestowal of religious freedom, emancipation of serfdom and acceptance of legal equality; trial by jury and other distinctive principles released by the Revolution.

A reaction :—

The Jacobin movement represented yet another aspect of the revolution and surely Napoleon seems to have denied the spirit of the revolution in so far as he did not fulfil the radical ideals. From this angle the Napoleonic rule was a culmination of the Thermidorian reaction in a more effective

way. First, his reign marked the suppression of Jacobinism which meant in consequence a check to all radical ideals like democracy, control of the rich etc. A jacobin in early career, Napoleon had no sympathy with them as a ruler. Though an under-current of academic socialism persisted to assume prominence after Napoleon's overthrow, he did not allow any radical movement to lift its head. Second, nature of the reforms undertaken by Napoleon represented a retreat from reforming ideals of the early Revolution. The reaction went not merely from the aspirations of Robespierre to that of Mirabeau, but further to the conservative direction. Third, restoration of hereditary monarchy,—the moderates wanted monarchy as a necessity and this too in a limited form. But the absolute monarchy restored by Napoleon with a court as splendid as the Bourbon Court was diametrically opposite to the Revolution. (4) His reign illustrated the restoration of some aristocratic principles though no restoration of feudal property or privilege took place. So was there no non-economic compulsion on the peasantry. Through donations i. e., grants made to the associates, a new aristocracy was created as a part of the Court-life (Legion of the Honour not to be confused with this). The only justification of validity was that this was necessary in the interest of stability. (5) Restoration of catholicism by the civil constitution of the clergies. This revival of the union between the church and the state was indicative of the abandonment of early revolutionary principles. He was, of course, forced to do so but enough was restored to make a retreat. (6) His reign also witnessed a steady decline of civil rights and individual liberty as there was increasing police control, strict censorship over the private life of the subjects. That manifested an attitude of intolerance to all sorts of political opposition, (7) Absence of political liberty—the essence of the constitution was the rule by the nominees of the Emperor. He did not allow any popular initiative. The very purpose of plebiscite was rendered ineffective as it (1) meant a vote of confidence after the completion of a thing and (2) it had

nothing to do with the programme of the government that was formulated by the emperor. Napoleonic dictatorship was totally different from the Jacobin dictatorship. Because first, Jacobin dictatorship was only an emergency measure to check foreign intervention and intestine disorder whereas Napoleon's absolutism was permanent and lasted for a long time. Secondly, in addition to this theoretical difference the Jacobin rule was in the interest of the majority of the French people and it represented the class interest of the petty bourgeoisie and labour class in general. While the Napoleonic dictatorship benefitted only one particular class i. e., the moderate bourgeoisie. And lastly, Napoleon abandoned all revolutionary ideals of liberating Europe and aimed at dominating it. His peninsular wars, invasion of Moscow and his high-handed treatments towards the Germans provoked tremendous opposition abroad. His continental system created untoward financial difficulties in Europe though its aim was to benefit the French bourgeoisie by defeating the British trade interest in Europe.

Q. 25. (a) Describe the circumstances leading to the fall of Napoleon.

What were the causes of downfall of Napoleon ? (b) Why did Napoleon adopt the continental system and how did it operate ? How did it affect his Empire and other states of Europe ? (c) "It was the spanish ulcer that ruined me"—Amplify (d) To what extent was Napoleon's overthrow due to the efforts of Great Britain ? (e) What is continental system and how did it contribute to Napoleon's downfall ?

Ans. The years between 1807 and 1810 saw Napoleon's power reaching its climax. But the treaty of Tilsit of 1807 with Prussia and Russia marked the high water-mark of the Napoleonic glory. Napoleon's downfall was responsible for several causes and actions. We can catalogue the general causes of Napoleon's downfall.

First, exhaustion of France. Due to long-drawn struggle from the 90's of the 18th century France became exhausted materially and psychologically. Her trade and industrial interests were neglected, her man power crippled. The thin population, tired of war, rallied after 1815 for the restoration of status quo.

Second, discontent within the Empire. No doubt, Napoleon attempted to spread revolutionary principles outside France but his policy of territorial conquest, continental system, forced loan and conscription provoked tremendous agitation in France, The economic distress of the people joined hands with national upsurge.

Third, National resistance. Napoleon's naked militarism and his attempts for suppressing national risings in Spain and Germany provoked strong resistance all over Europe where new industrial developments took place and a new bourgeoisie emerged.

Fourth, the repeated formation of great coalitions of the European powers was also responsible to bring Napoleon to his grave. In the great Russian expedition Napoleon lost his well-organised army. England was mainly instrumental for the formation of the liberation because it helped European powers with men and money to cripple the French economic and man power and thereby to humble Napoleon.

Fifth, the nature and organisation of the French military system was also open to criticism. Recruitment was made from all dominated countries and there was lack of military training and national feeling or patriotic inspiration among the soldiers. Lack of proper training diminished efficiency in the army,

Sixth, Napoleon was greatly handicapped by his lack of naval power. The English naval supremacy throughout the period contributed materially to the undoing of Napoleon's projects,

Lastly, Napoleon's limitations. He was a genius with some limitations of his head and heart which manifested themselves in some of his grave political and strategic blunders, those blunders could easily have been avoided. His self-confidence

and over-mighty vanity led him to insanity. (1) Russian expedition was a military blunder. Following the garrison principle he attempted to hold over parts of Germany and especially Saxony and his endeavour to suppress the Spanish upsurge were all strategic blunders. His political blunder was the refusal to come to terms on favourable terms in the treaties of Prague, Frankfurt and Chatillon. Thus vanity paved the way of his downfall.

The main events which brought about the collapse of the Empire are ; (1) The continental system ; (2) Peninsular Policy ; (3) Russian expedition and (4) the war of liberation in Germany.

I. The main objective for the continental system was to cripple the commercial and naval power of England, France's chief rival in Europe. By the continental system Napoleon waged an economic war to blockade the European ports and markets against the British goods. So in 1806 he issued from Berlin a decree declaring blockade of the British Isles and forbidding all commerce with them. All British goods were ordered to be seized. England retaliated by Orders in Council which forbade all trade with ports belonging to France or her allies. Whereupon Napoleon issued his Milan Decree (1807) by which he declared that any ship of any country which should touch at a British port, was liable to be seized and treated as a prize. The same declaration was made in two other decrees of Warsaw and Fontainebleau. At Tilsit he secured the adhesion of Russia and Prussia to this scheme of destroying England's trade. It was decided to compel Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to enforce the system. For Italy Napoleon had the privilege to enforce the system because he was an Italian and for a long time Italy was habituated with the foreign domination. But the refusal of the Pope led Napoleon to annex his territories and imprison him that perturbed the conservative mind of Europe. But Napoleon's plan proved a failure. England got a rude shock but not destruction of her commercial power. First, through Turkey the British goods entered

Europe. Second, Napoleon failed to check the flowery smuggling in the Iberian peninsula and in the Russian territories. Thirdly, prices of daily necessities of life went up enormously and the greatest sufferers were the inhabitants of the continent.

II. Peninsular War.

Napoleon failed in the Baltic to enforce the system. He turned towards the Iberian Peninsula. Portugal refused to accept the Berlin decrees. Thereupon he concluded the secret treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain for the partition of Portugal and her colonies between France and Spain. He sent a French army under Junot, which in conjunction with Spanish troops, occupied Portugal. The royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil under the protection of the English fleet (1807)

Now he turned towards Spain. Since the treaty of Basle (1795) Spain had humbly followed in the wake of French policy. But he, taking advantage of a quarrel with the Spanish king Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, annexed the territory and put Joseph on the throne. Now he confronted the determined spirit of a nation to defend its liberty. In every province popular juntas were formed to organise resistance which proved to be national in its intensity. An appeal was sent to England for help. Napoleon had to face four difficulties in Spain. First, geographical handicaps seriously jeopardised rapid mobilization of foreign troops. Second, unhealthy and unsuitable climate crippled the strength of the army. Third, the mountainous region barred mobilization of army on a large scale. The Spanish troops adopted the guerrilla method of warfare and lastly, the French troops could not withstand an army inspired with patriotic feelings and equipped with the English assistance,

In 1808 a French army under Duport surrendered at Baylen. Joseph fled from Madrid. It broke the spell of the French invincibility. Wellesley came to the rescue of

Portugal, compelled Junot to evacuate Portugal at Vimiere. Napoleon renewed his alliance with Russia by the convention of Erfurt in order to counteract the hostile attitude of Austria. Now he burst into Spain, entered Madrid and reinstalled Joseph on the throne. The Spanish General Moore retreated to Corunna but lost his life. After Napoleon's departure in 1809 Wellesley opened campaign by driving the French under Soult out of Portugal. He won the battle of Talavera and prepared to march upon Madrid. The overthrow of Austria at Wagram relieved the pressure upon Napoleon and he sent Massena in Portugal. Anticipating the French renewed offensive Wellington (Wellesley) as a defensive measure constructed a triple line of fortifications from the river Tagus to the sea, thus protecting Lisbon from any attack which was known as Torres Vedras. As Massena advanced on Portugal inflicting a check on the French at Busaco, Massena was compelled to retire to Spain finding Torres Vedras impregnable. Wellington took the offensive, invaded Almedia and defeated Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro while his colleague Baresford won a fruitless victory at Albuera. At Salamanca the French sustained a serious defeat when Napoleon was on his Russian expedition. In 1813 Soult, with the flower of the French army, was called away to Germany and Wellington inflicted a crushing defeat on Joseph at Vittoria. He now crossed the French frontier but the French cause was already lost by Napoleon's abdication and the allied forces occupied Paris. There were many reasons for the military failure of Napoleon in Spain. First, he had so many calls upon his attention that he could not personally control all the operations in Spain and so could not secure that unity of action, essential to success. Secondly, he underestimated the strength of the Spanish national resistance and so did not throw all his resources into the enterprise. It was said, "Futile efforts hold Spain with armies which, if transferred to central Europe, might have saved the Empire". Thirdly, the physical features of Spain fought against the French army. The country is mountainous and poor and so it was difficult

for the French to secure ample supply and mobilization on a large-scale. The army was unsuitable to stand the guerilla warfare. Lastly, Napoleon's treachery provoked a national spirit and he had to learn that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined troops". The failure in the Peninsular war was rich with far-reaching consequences. It marked the dawn of the decline of the Napoleonic glory. First, France sustained a heavy loss of men and money without any compensation. Second, It gave to the small army of England exactly the theatre in which it could most effectively deploy its resources. This war gave opportunity to England to deal a death-blow to France. Thirdly, other nations took the cue from the Spaniards and organised popular and national resistance before which Napoleon had to give way. The peninsular war thus proved to be a veritable ulcer which sucked away the strength of Napoleon at a time when the European situation demanded all his might.

III. Russian invasion :

The third occasion for Napoleon's downfall was the fatal campaign against Russia. Ever since the peace of Tilsit, Russia had been Napoleon's ally, but circumstances combined to weaken this alliance and eventually to bring about a rupture. The first factor was the revolt and consequent suppression of Austria. Encouraged by the national rising in Spain, Austria attempted to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. The attempt was premature. The Austrians were completely defeated at Wagram in 1809 and forced by the treaty of Schonbrunn to pay a heavy indemnity and to make further cessions of territory on the Polish, Alpine and Adriatic frontiers. The Austrian Emperor had to give his daughter, Maria Louisa, in marriage to Napoleon. The matrimonial alliance between Austria and Napoleon offended the Tsar. Second, the coolness which sprang up, was heightened by Napoleon's seizure of the duchy of Oldenburg which belonged to the Czar's brother-in-law. Third, the Tsar had all along looked upon with suspicion

the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon. The suspicion was changed into positive distrust when Napoleon enlarged the Grand Duchy by the territory acquired from Austria after Wagram. He feared that Napoleon's object was to re-establish Poland and to encourage Polish nationalism. Fourthly, the rift between the two powers was completed by the Tsar's refusal to increase the rigours of Napoleon's economic blockade of England. Against the continental system which was working great financial loss to Russia, the Tsar issued an Edict in 1810, modifying his adhesion to the system. And lastly, basically these two personalities had two separate characters and both of them imbibed different types of influences and pressure-groups. Napoleon took the offensive and conducted the expedition with a large army. The Russians steadily retreated and the French army occupied Moscow defeating them at Borodino. After a long delay Napoleon retreated from his occupation without subjugating the Russian king or the people when the winter had set in. Napoleon's disastrous return march, frequent attempts of the Cossack guerilla bands caused havoc in the army. His grand army was reduced to a few paltry thousands when they hurried to Paris. This ill-fated expedition shattered the military might of Napoleon and encouraged the powers of central Europe to shake off his domination. Prussia was first to rise. Napoleon from now on was compelled to take the side of defence in the battle front.

And the last factor of Napoleon's downfall was the war of Liberation. Due to some able ministers like Stein, Hardenburg and Humboldt Prussia carried on army, educational and fiscal reforms. Prussia was thus strengthened to meet the challenge of the French nation. The Prussian king issued an "Appeal to my people" and the spontaneous response turned Prussia into a nation-in-arms. Napoleon was confronted with the same determined national spirit which he saw in Spain. Berlin was recovered from the French. The Russians successfully supported an insurrection in Hamburg and a Prussian force

seized Dresden. Mustering a new army composed of raw recruits Napoleon appeared in Saxony. He maintained his reputation and defeated the allies at Lutzen and Bautzen and recovered Dresden. But he could not follow up his victories and so agreed to the armistice of Pleswitz, in order to reorganise his troops. This proved a fatal error on his part. The Fourth coalition against France was formed with Austria, Prussia, Russia. Bernadotte, the king of Sweden deserted Napoleon and England agreed to subsidize him. Though Napoleon was victorious in Dresden but the allies closed in upon him at Leipzig and in that "battle of the Nations" Napoleon's political structure in Germany collapsed. The Confederacy of the Rhine dissolved, Holland was made independent and the kingdom of Westphalia disappeared. Bavaria turned for help to the Allies. Napoleon was forced to retreat from Germany. The Allies offered Napoleon peace on the basis of the natural boundaries of France. But committing a great blunder Napoleon rejected them. The allies invaded France from all sides and at La Rothiere he was defeated by the Prussian general Blucher and was again offered peace at Chatillon on the basis of the frontiers of 1791. The peace terms were rejected which led the allies to conclude the Treaty of Chaumont, making an alliance for twenty years and pledging themselves to bring about the downfall of the Napoleonic vanity. On March 30, 1814 the victorious allies outnumbered Napoleon and entered Paris. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau Napoleon abandoned his European position and retired to the island of Elba. By the First Treaty of Paris Louis XVIII was installed in the French throne to be satisfied with the boundaries of 1792, A Congress was held at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. But for many reasons Napoleon escaped from Elba. First, the dissension among the allies over the spoils of victory ; Second, the French people became discontented with the reactionary tendency of Louis XVIII's government. Third, the unemployed army clamoured for war and lastly, the French peasantry and the bourgeoisie class interest

demanded the return of their national leader Napoleon in France. From 20th March, 1815 to the the battle of Waterloo within these Hundred Days Napoleon rallied round him a large army but his associates like Fouché, Marmont, Talleyrand and others deserted him. He defeated the Prussians under Blücher at Ligny but was defeated by the joint attack of Wellington and Blücher at the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon fled to Paris, abdicated for the second time and tried to escape to America. But he was taken prisoner and carried by the English to St. Helena where he died six years after in 1821.

Q. 26. (i) What do you know of the Congress of Vienna. (ii) What were the achievements of Talleyrand in the Congress? (iii) What are the problems involved and what principles accepted in the Congress? (iv) Give a clear picture of the territorial changes that took place in 1815. (v) Do you think the criticisms of the Congress were unduly harsh? (vi) Do you agree with the view that the Vienna settlement was a betrayal?

Ans. After the downfall of Napoleon the European nations except Turkey met in Vienna (1) to restle the disturbed continent, (ii) to check France and the dangerous French ideas. But the main business of the Congress was transacted by the four great powers which had taken the lead in defeating Napoleon—England, Russia, Austria and Prussia. Among the assembled diplomats the most outstanding figure was that of the Austrian minister, Metternich. His aim was (1) to secure the primacy of Austria and (2) to check France for the future peace and stability. He presided over the Congress and exerted influence to secure a settlement for promoting the interests of Austria and placing her in supreme position in the European politics. The presence of the Russian representative for Alexander I acted as a liberal force to check the vindictive zeal of those who sought to impose very severe terms upon France. He supported the British proposal for the abolition of slavery. His ill-balanced

mind came to be dominated by Metternich's influence. The British representatives Castlereagh and Wellington represented the British national interests. According to Woodward the British interest in the 19th century was based on two fundamental pillars—establishment of commercial supremacy of Britain all the world over and maintenance of balance of power in Europe. In the Congress too Castlereagh championed the principle of balance of power in order to secure the commercial predominance of England all over the world. France was represented by Talleyrand. Taking a patriotic standpoint he declared that France should be treated liberally and she should have a voice in the making of her new destiny. Second, he upheld the principle of legitimacy. After her defeat France had four alternatives: (1) restoration of the Bourbons, (2) restoration of the Napoleonic line; (3) or of the republic (4) or finally, the partition of France like Poland. Out of these four alternatives, satisfying the principle of legitimacy, the restoration of the House of Bourbons minus ancient regime to the French crown was most plausible. Third, as a champion of the interests of weaker states he foiled the designs of four great powers and raised the status of France to their equal position. And lastly, he sowed dissension among the four states on Saxo-Polish question and took a joint stand with England and Austria.

The main task of the Congress was the territorial reconstruction of Europe. Here different state-interests clashed with each other making impossible to reach on a solution. As Gentz said, "it was a meeting of the victors to divide the spoils of the conquered". Thus the question of the disposal of Poland and Saxony brought serious controversy between Russia, Prussia on one side and England, Austria and France on the other. Russia wanted the whole of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, loosely called Poland, while Prussia was eager to absorb the whole of Saxony. As two powers supported each other's claim England, France and Austria pledged themselves to resist the aggressive claims of Prussia and Russia and compelled them by threat of war to modify

their demands. The final act of the Congress of Vienna was signed only a few days before Waterloo [June 9, 1815].

The problems which cropped up in the arena of European politics as a consequence of Napoleon's downfall were as follows :- (1) resettlement of the political structure of Europe ; (2) determination of the fate of Poland ; (3) control of the German affairs ; (4) to ascertain the Rhenish frontier-line ; (5) retributive measures against Saxony ; (6) check to France and the French ideas and lastly, (7) harmonization of the previous treaties between the European diplomats.

For the solution of these problems the European diplomats accepted two objectives in the Congress : (1) France must be held in check and (2) the infection of the revolutionary spirit prevented. The labours of the Congress were mainly determined by three principles ; (a) that of balance of power which would provide effective safeguards for the future peace of Europe ; (b) that of legitimacy whereby pre-revolutionary conditions were to be restored as far as possible and (c) that of reward to the victors and retribution to the vanquished.

The principle of legitimacy was propounded by the astute French diplomat, Talleyrand in order to save France from territorial spoliation. The principle means that the only valid title to sovereignty consists in long possession with European recognition. It thus denied the validity of the changes made by Napoleon as also the rights of the peoples to change their rulers. Metternich adopted it as a valuable asset to Austrian policy and as a useful lever to inaugurate an era of reaction. It was in accordance with the principle of legitimacy that the rule of the Bourbons was restored in France, Spain and Naples ; that of the House of Savoy in Sardinia-Piedmont and the House of Orange in Holland. On the same principle the Pope was restored to his temporal possessions in Central Italy, as also the German princes whose territories had been included by Napoleon in the Confederation of the Rhine. The Swiss Confederation was also restored and the neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed by the powers

The principle of balance of power was applied in the case of France and to solve the Saxo-Polish question. France was dealt with separately by the Second Treaty of Paris, 1815. (1) It reduced France, with small differences, to the boundaries she possessed before the outbreak of the revolution [1782]. (2) It also obliged her to pay a heavy war-indemnity and to (3) maintain an allied army of occupation for five years and (4) to restore the art treasures which Napoleon had brought from different countries. (5) Steps were also taken to ring her round with a girdle of strong states as bulwarks against her future aggression. Thus Belgium previously an Austrian province, was joined to Holland as one kingdom under the House of Orange, so that a strong barrier might be formed against France in the north. Prussia was given the territories on the Rhine so that she might be the chief sentinel to hold France in check in the east. The kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont was strengthened by the acquisition of Genoa so that it might be stronger to resist French aggression in the south-east. The Saxo-Polish question was also amicably settled as the three powers England, France and Austria resisted the grand design of Prussia and Russia. Saxony and Poland were partitioned and divided among the victors so that one might not be stronger than the other.

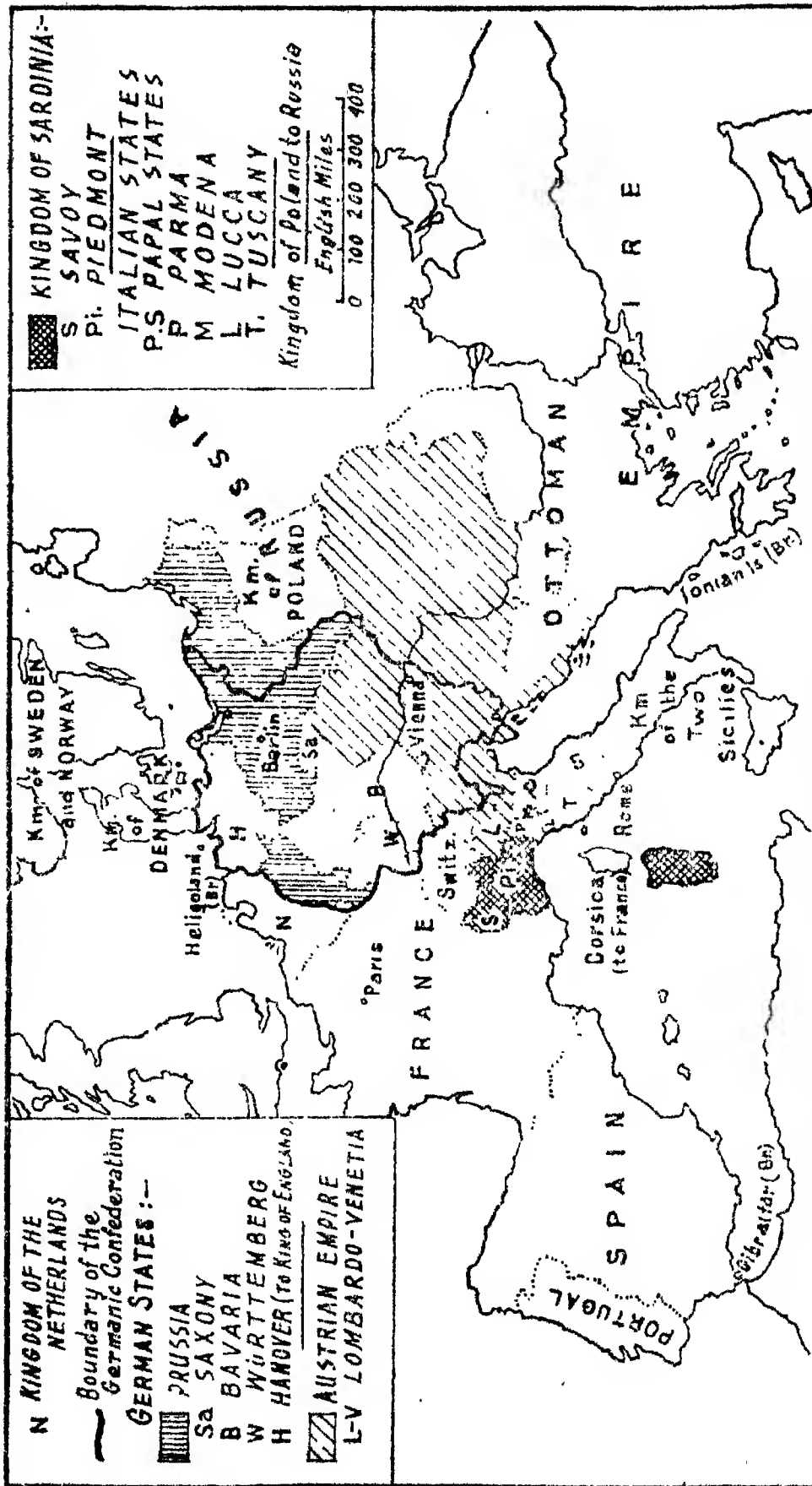
But the principle of legitimacy was in many cases compromised by the necessity of providing compensations to the victors at the cost of the defeated party. Thus Norway was torn away from Denmark and was given to Sweden by way of compensation for the latter's cession of Finland to Russia and Swedish Pomerania to Prussia. Denmark was thus penalised for having joined Napoleon and Sweden rewarded for having supported the allies. Saxony had to pay the penalty of supporting the French cause by the surrender of a large portion of her territory to Prussia. The four big powers received ample rewards for their efforts in bringing about the defeat of Napoleon. (1) Thus Russia secured most of Poland and retained Finland which she had conquered from Sweden and

Bessarabia, which she had wrested from the Turks. (2) Prussia obtained Swedish Pomerania, some Polish territory, about 2/5 of Saxony and large districts of the Rhine. The acquisition of those Rhenish territories compelled Prussia to confront France and so made her the champion of Germany against French aggression. (3) Austria received Venetia and Lombardy in Italy as compensation for the loss of Belgium. She also got the Tyrol from Bavaria and recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. These gains, coupled with the fact that the restored rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany belonged to the Habsburg family gave Austria commanding position in Italy. (4) England's acquisitions in Europe were confined to Heligoland, Malta and protectorate of the Ionian islands. Her substantial gains were further afield in the additions to her colonial empire. She retained Trinidad (from Spain), Mauritius and Tobago (from France) and Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope (from Holland). She thus became the greatest colonial power in Europe. (5) Germany was formed into a loose confederation of 39 states whose affairs were to be controlled by a Federal Diet under the presidency of Austria. The Diet was composed not of the representatives of the people but of the delegates appointed by different states. This arrangement was due to the influence of Metternich who did not want a united Germany and also due to the German princes unready to surrender their rights. (6) There was also a solution to Saxo-Polish question. Poland was partitioned and eventually Russia parted with her lion's share of the Duchy except Posen and Cracow. The King of Saxony was restored to his throne but he had to cede about 2/5 to Prussia. And lastly, England's proposal for abolition of the slave trade was tacitly accepted by the European diplomats and Alexander in his mystical way proposed something like a league of nations.

Criticism :—As befitting so solemn an occasion, the diplomats were profuse in their expressions of lofty sentiment. They talked of an "enduring peace based on a just redistribution of forces" and of the "regeneration of the

political system of Europe." But this treaty for ages has been subjected to serious criticisms by historians. It was said that "in the territorial readjustments made by the Congress of Vienna there was little that was permanent and much that was temporary." "The diplomats ignored popular sentiments and made a settlement which did not stand the test of time". Against the lofty ideals of the Vienna settlements the first argument advanced was the absence of any definite principle. First, the principle of legitimacy was fulfilled in cases of France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Sardinia and the Papal states. But in case of Austria the Holy Roman Empire was not revived, the Italian republics were not restored as also the free cities of Germany and the Papal states. The principle of nationality, secondly, was not recognised. The liberal Tsar granted a constitution to Poland and Finland but national sovereignty was not recognised in cases of Belgium, Italy or Germany. Thirdly, the authors of the Congress of Vienna had shown little diplomatic foresight in attempting to maintain status quo. They overlooked the spirit of the time, fourthly, in upholding the principles of dynastic interests and balance of power. And lastly, it was said that behind the use of magniloquent phrases there was only the principle according to Gentz "a scramble for the spoils by the victors." There was only the plan to check France and the so-called French ideas in order to have a peace and relaxation for peaceful development of internal conditions of states.

The second line of attack was that this treaty was a betrayal. Great promises were held out to the contemporary European world but those promises were not fulfilled. (1) It was hypocritical on their part not to extend the doctrine of legitimacy to republics like Venice and Genoa and also to the papal states etc. (2) They also ignored the challenge of the French revolution. They wilfully shut their eyes to the new forces of democracy and nationality which the French revolution had let loose all over Europe. They calmly set aside all national considerations in order to secure the balance of power and dynastic interests.



EUROPE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815.

But such criticisms are unfair. Because the treaty was natural in 1815. What seems natural at a later date is projected to a former period. Second, it is usually pointed out that the history of the 19th century is mainly concerned with the undoing of the work of the Vienna Congress. But it should be noted as Ketelbey remarks, "it is given to few congresses to legislate for a century." The diplomats of Vienna, devoid of prophetic vision, could not anticipate future. Their settlement had at least the merit of securing peace to Europe for forty years. Third, besides the diplomats were handicapped by previous pledges and treaties by which they had agreed to restore many of the rulers and to compensate others i.e., Treaties of Abo 1812, Kalishch, Richenbach, Toplitz. Hence they had to adopt the principles of legitimacy and compensation. Fourthly, a better settlement could have been hardly adopted by a Congress controlled by four conservative powers, 3 crowned autocracies, Austria, Prussia and Russia and a constitutional monarchy, England. Fifthly, the nature of the popular forces was hardly national or democratic at that time. There was, for instance, little liberalism in the the Spanish or in the Russian resistance. Even the German resistance was more national than liberal, more anti-French than democratic. A liberal settlement could be expected from an actual revolution which was impossible in the then Europe. Sixthly, liberalism released by the revolution was still a struggling force in 1815, a religion of the minority. It had not assumed a historical force to make its position felt in the Congress above the designs of the diplomats. Seventh, but we have the imprint of the impact of the spirit of liberalism in the settlement because of England's participation and the Tsar's influence. They carried to success the abolition of slavery and saved the destiny of France. Eighth, the idea of national self-determination was still unaccepted. The real criticism is that all its claims to finality were wrong. It had essentially a transitory character, as the issue in the conflict was yet to be decided. None of the authors could have anticipated future.

But the Congress of Vienna was marked by some positive achievements. First, this treaty assisted in a great measure in establishing peace in Europe for about forty years. Second, it paved the way for international co-operation in a large scale in future. It formed the nucleus of the League of Nations or U. N. O. of the 20th century. Thirdly, Vienna Congress registered some accomplished facts. It embodied the profound changes in political relationships and values which had taken place during the previous 20 years. (1) Thus Russia was recognised as a great European power. (2) The decline of the European importance of Sweden was registered by the abandonment of her trans-Baltic ambitions. (3) The changes made by Napoleon in Germany were in the main recognised. (4) The Holy Roman Empire disappeared and the number of the German states was considerably reduced. Fourthly, the settlement contained seeds of momentous developments of future. Although the works of the Congress were reactionary, some of its territorial readjustments were pregnant with important consequences, (1) Thus the strengthening of the kingdom of Sardinia by the additions of Genoa stimulated the House of Savoy to unite Italy. (2) The acquisition of the Rhine lands by Prussia was an important step towards Prussianization of Germany. (3) Austria by abandoning her outposts in the west in exchange for Italian possessions became a non-German power which eventually led her to be expelled from the united Germany under the Prussian leadership. Thus two of the most remarkable achievements of the 19th century—unification of Germany and Italy—had their germs in the work of the Vienna Congress.

Q. 27. (1) What do you know of the European Concert of powers? Why did it fail? (2) Discuss the parts played by England, Austria and Prussia respectively in the European concert of nations and with what result?

The Congress of Vienna had sealed the triumph of reaction and restored the European status quo. The

Vienna treaties were entrusted to the collective guarantee of the powers. But past experience had convinced them of the necessity of having some sort of machinery for closer international co-operation in the interests of European peace and secondly, to check France and the dangerous French ideas. To secure this object two conflicting schemes were put forward. The one was the Holy alliance sponsored by Czar Alexander of Russia, who under the impulse of a generous nature, wanted to spiritualise politics by calling upon his brother monarchs to act upon Christian principles. The other was the concert of Europe, based on a quadruple alliance of the big powers. The two are often confused with each other and both became instruments of reactionary policy in the skilful hands of the Austrian minister, Metternich.

The Holy Alliance : Czar Alexander I was a liberal force, a compound of liberal and mystical ideas in the congress of Vienna. He wanted to put a stop to all irreligious revolutions in future in Europe, in a famous document he proposed a brotherhood of sovereigns based upon Christian ideals. It embodied that henceforth the sovereigns of Europe were to be bound by a solemn engagement to take the precepts of Holy Religion as their sole guide in the administration and their foreign policy. All the potentates of Europe, except the Pope and the Porte were invited to sign the document. All did so except England without believing sincerely in its objectives. Realists like Castlereagh characterised it as a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense", while Metternich scornfully called it a "loud-sounding nothing". The name of the Holy alliance has become popularly attached to the European system between 1815 and 1825. Its basic conceptions were never applied to contemporary politics. To the liberals of the 19th century it was an unholy league of despots to stamp out democracy and internationalism. This idea emerges out of confusion of terms. The historical significance of the Holy Alliance lies in the fact that it "bore a ripper fruit in the great

international peace movement which began with the Hague Conference of 1899."

The Quadruple Alliance :

The positive policy for maintaining the European state-system against France and the French ideas was enshrined in the Quadruple Alliance of Nov. 1815, signed by Russia, Austria, and England. The alliance decided (1) to maintain the treaties with France, (2) to preserve the political stability of Europe and (3) the friendly relations amongst the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world and (4) also to arrange conference of the signatory powers infrequently to discuss any problem which might arise and to decide what would be most salutary for the peace and prosperity of Europe. This system of "diplomacy by conference" was a new departure and formed an interesting experiment in internationalism. In these Congresses for the first few years Castlereagh dominated the field, But as time rolled on Metternich was able to set his home in order and after the Carlsbad Decree in Germany where he was able to hold in check all revolutionary attempts Metternich came to the fore front. Under his guidance the alliance virtually established dictatorship of the great powers and authorised the policing of Europe for the suppression of liberal aspirations and thus came to clash with the forces of nationalism and democracy.

The first Congress was held at Aix-la-chapelle in 1818 to discuss the question of admission of France. Because France had promptly paid off the indemnity to the allied conquerors and it was agreed to withdraw the allied army of occupation from the French soil. But the mistrust of France manifested itself when all agreed that France could create more trouble living outside the alliance. Metternich and the Czar were influenced to give way to commit "a moral pentarchy". The Congress soon constituted itself into something like a High Court of Continental jurisdiction. (1) It called to account king Bernadotte of Sweden for ignoring treaty-right in his dealings with Norway and

Denmark. (2) It read a lecture to the ruler of Monaco as to how he should see to the better government of his principality and (3) checkmated the territorial ambition of Bavaria. Thus in frightening the weaker states the members of European concert acted in harmony. But when questions arose involving conflicting interests, it was found difficult to overcome mutual jealousies and to take concerted action. Thus England would not consent to joint action in suppressing the Barbary pirates for fear of admitting Russian ships into the Mediterranean. Secondly, she would not also allow European intervention in bringing back the rebellious South American colonies of Spain to the Spanish allegiance, lest her commercial interests in that region would be jeopardised. The other powers, therefore, refused to give England authority to search the seas for the suppression of the slave trade, lest she should utilise her position to steal a march upon them.

The Congress of Troppau in 1820 :—

At Aix-la-Chapelle the gulf of difference was visible where Castlereagh gave way for the domination of the system for which Metternich stood. By this time Metternich was successful in his home-front holding in check the revolutionary forces i.e., the French ideas and that would ensure the Austrian supremacy. And now proceeded to dominate over Europe. This rift between the European diplomats became wider in the next congress which was held at Troppau. In 1820 revolutions broke out in Naples, Spain and Portugal and in each of these countries the people forced their reactionary rulers to accept a constitution modelled upon the famous Spanish constitution of 1812. All the diplomats were ready to condemn the revolution. But they revealed vital difference of views and interests with regard to the steps to be taken. Russia offered armed assistance to the Spanish king to suppress the revolt. But Metternich held her in check, for his hatred of revolution was balanced by his fear of Russian aggrandisement. To him Naples was

a more urgent problem as he saw in the Neapolitan revolt a menace to Austrian supremacy in Italy. In the Congress of Troppau 1820 Metternich prevailed upon the Prussian and the Russian king to look upon revolution in any state as the common concern of all other states. The policy of intervention enshrined in the famous Troppau Protocol asserted that by revolution a state ceased to be a member of European alliance and justified intervention by other European states by force, if necessary. Castlereagh, minister of a constitutional regime held that it would jeopardise nationalist upsurge in every state for the preservation of status quo.

Next year (1821) the Congress adjourned to Laibach. It recognised the predominant interest of Austria in Italy on two grounds : (1) Austria's solemn pledge by a previous treaty to save Naples and (2) for the safety of the Austrian dominion of Lombardo-Venetia. The Austrians easily suppressed the Neapolitan revolt and restored Ferdinand to absolute power. On their way back they put down a liberal movement in Piedmont to the dislike of the constitutional powers which accentuated the collapse.

The Congress of Verona (1822).

The Spanish revolt demanded the summoning of a Congress at Verona in 1822. Moreover, the Greeks broke into revolt against Turkey and Russia came forward for intervention. But Austria being Russia's rival in the Balkans was determined to prevent Russian interference in the affairs of Greece with England who was ever-watchful of the Russian aggrandisement in the Near East. At the meeting of Hanover Metternich with the British help succeeded in checking Russian action and in shelving the Greek question. King Ferdinand VII of Spain appealed to the Bourbon king of France for help and France obtained a mandate from the other powers to suppress the Spanish revolt. This was enough for the final breakdown of the Concert and England withdrew from the Congress.

After suppressing the Spanish revolt the European diplomats proceeded to recover for Spain the rebellious south-American colonies. In that case a lucrative trade would be closed to Great Britain. Therefore he recognised the independence of the Latin American colonies as he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old and he also handed over to Polignac, the French ambassador a memorandum explaining the British viewpoint. At the face of strong protest the French government had to climb down. Moreover, President Monroe joining hands with England issued his famous declaration warning European power against interfering in American affairs and acquiring further territory in that continent. Therefore, Metternich's policy of intervention was abandoned and thus the Concert of Europe ceased to exist in the world.

Causes of the failure of the Concert.

The collapse of the European Concert was due to many causes. The occasion of the collapse or the first cause was the withdrawal of England from the Verona Congress and the open threat of England and the U. S. A. against the European policy of intervention. Therefore, famous declaration of Monroe which was enshrined in the phrase, "America for the Americans" was also indirectly responsible for the fall. Second, lack of unity of purpose and outlook and divergence of political principles. Autocracy and constitutionalism are strange bed fellows. England with her parliamentary institutions, could not be expected to work in harmony with the three autocratic powers who had converted the European concert into a "league to bind Europe in chains". Metternich's policy of diplomacy by Congresses became thoroughly discredited. Thirdly, jealousy among states and persistence of conflicting national interests. The difference in outlook and clash of interests among the signatory powers found it difficult to overcome. In no sphere of activity, political or commercial, or in constitutional outlook, was to be found any community,

of purpose or interest. Thus mutual jealousy prevented adoption of concerted measures for the suppression of barbary pirates and slave-trade. Fourthly, revolt of the states of Spanish and Italian peninsula and the Austrian policy of intervention was no less responsible for the failures and lastly, lack of an able international organisation and international law and sanction and a proper machinery to enforce international sanctions was ultimately responsible for the collapse. The international law and organisation was still in its infancy. So it could not cope with the divergent national interests.

Q. 28. (a) Discuss the history of France from 1815 to 1830. (b) What were the problems of France in 1815 and how they were tackled by Talleyrand and Louis XVIII? (c) Sketch the reign of Charles X. (d) What were the causes and consequences of the revolution of 1830?

(b) Why did the Bourbon restoration fail in France? Was the Orleanist monarchy an improvement upon it?

The year 1815 marked the nadir of the French misfortune. The victorious allies for the second time restored the rule of the Bourbon dynasty minus the ancient regime. In the Congress of Vienna Talleyrand successfully represented France and raised her to the status of big powers of Europe. He championed the cause of legitimacy and advocated the principle of balance of power. He voiced the French people's clamour for self-determination. He supported the interests of weaker states and foiled Russo-Prussian design over Poland and Saxony. But France was allowed to return to her pre-revolutionary frontier. A heavy war indemnity was imposed upon her. An army of allied powers was stationed to guard France and she was excluded from the Concert of Europe. Moreover, France was girdled with a ring of big states to prevent penetration of the French ideas and any possible French menace. Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI ascended the throne. He was confronted by two bitterly irreconcilable political

parties. On the one hand, there were the liberals comprising the Republicans and Bonapartists, who formed a disaffected group opposed to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. On the other hand, there were the ultra-royalists who were feudal nobles and clergymen and more royalist than the king himself. They were eager for retaliation and restoration of the old regime. Between these two extreme factions Louis XVIII wanted to steer a middle course and he was strongly supported by the moderates in the centre. They both agreed on the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty and to carry on a constitutional regime. But they sharply differed in interpreting the charter and in limiting the authority of the king. It was the split between the centrists that led to the ultra-domination in 1816.

Louis XVIII was determined not to pursue a course of conduct which would compel him "to go on his travels again". He recognised that the pressing need of France was to reconcile the restoration of royalism with the heritage of the Revolution. He was careful not to attack the essentials of the Revolution settlement. Of his own free-will he granted a charter to the people. This charter established (1) an elective chamber of deputies, (2) proclaimed the personal equality of Frenchmen (3) granted freedom of religion and (4) liberty of the press. The constitution, on the whole, was not illeberal.

But the charter dissatisfied the ultra-royalists. They wanted to punish the authors of their misfortune. They terrorised elections and monopolised the chamber of Deputies. The hatred rose to fever-heat. At their instigation a terrible movement, The white Terror spread havoc over the southern France. It was directed against the Republicans and Bonapartists and in atrocities it recalled the worst excesses of the Reign of Terror. The most distinguished victim of the terror was Marshal Ney; the bravest of the brave.

The ultras getting upperhand in the chamber showed such a reactionary spirit that the king took alarm. He dissolved the chamber. There was a majority of moderate

royalists whose programme was "to royalise the French people and to nationalise the crown." From 1816 to 1820 the moderate ministry headed by Richelieu and Decazes ruled France. First, in 1817 introducing the general ticket system he reformed the franchise law on the basis of property qualification and age-limit and providing multi-member constituencies. Second, Finances were reorganised and France proceeded to pay off the immense war-indemnity. This was done with such success that (3) at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 the allies agreed to withdraw the army of occupation and to admit France to the Concert of Europe. Fourth, the army was reorganised upon the basis of national conscription. Fifthly, the censorship of the press was abolished and trial by jury was provided for press cases. Consequently, the left wing in the chamber began to swell and the ultras took alarm. But the progress of liberalism was rudely interrupted by two events. First, the exclusion of Gregoire from the chamber although he was elected lawfully by the people. Second, the murder of Duc de Berri, the heir presumptive to the throne produced a revulsion of feeling against the Liberals. The ultras were swept into power on the wave of popular indignation. From 1821 gradually a period of reaction and repression followed. The king allowed the country to drift upon the tide of anti-liberal measures. (1) Censorship of the press was restored by the law of Tendencies. (2) Bishop of Paris was to supervise over the University; (3) By the Septennial law the system of partial election was abolished. (4) In foreign policy with the approval of Metternich they forced the king to send an army into Spain to restore the tyrannical rule of Ferdinand VII. French policy thus came into line with that of the Holy Alliance. Louis XVIII died in 1824.

The reign of Charles X

Compte d'Artois ascended the throne as Charles X. He had been the leader of the emigres and like them he "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing". He made up his

mind to restore the Old Regime with all its glory by undoing the work of the revolution. He pretended a divine right to his position and conducted the government in the interests of the clergy and the nobility at the expense of popular liberty. (1) A large sum of money was voted to indemnify the nobles for their losses during the revolution. (2) By the sacrilege law offences against church buildings were punishable with death. Many privileges were restored to the clergy. The Jesuits were allowed to return and the penalties for sacrilege and blasphemy were increased. Wellington rightly remarked, "it was a government by priests, through priests and for priests." (3) By the succession law of 1826 the principle of primogeniture was established thwarting the revolutionary principle of equal distribution of property among successors. (4) Moreover, the Villele' ministry disbanded the National Guard and estranged the bourgeoisie, loyal to the crown. On the face of strong opposition Villele' ensured his continuance in the office by packing the chamber with loyal peers and holding a new election. But the election marked his defeat and Martignac came to form the ministry in January 1828. But for the internal policy of repression he had to give way.

The government indeed gained some prestige by its vigorous foreign policy. Algiers was conquered and some help was given to the Greeks, the French fleet participating in the battle of Navarino. But nothing could reconcile the people to the unpopular policy of the king. Matters came to a crisis when Charles appointed a most reactionary ministry headed by Polignac. Early in march 1830 the conflict emerged over the king's inaugural speech in the Chamber. The liberals presented an address to the king demanding Polignac's dismissal. At Polignac's instance Charles answered the address by issuing the four July Ordinances: (1) suspending the liberty of the press ; (2) dissolving the chamber of Deputies ; (3) changing the electoral system and (4) reducing the number of voters. These ordinances practically meant the revocation of the constitution and a return to absolutism.

The first repercussion came from liberal editors headed by Thiers who defied the suspension of the liberty of press. The newly elected deputies under Royer Collard submitted a manifesto calling people to revolt. The insurgents, after a few sharp encounters, overpowered the king's army. The Capital was in the hands of the mob. Charles fled. The people set up a provisional government with Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General. Thus the July Revolution of 1830 was accomplished.

Q. 29. (a) What constitutional changes took place in the July Revolution? (b) What was the nature of July monarchy? (c) Discuss the reign of Louis Philippe and analyse the causes of the July monarchy. (D) What were the causes and consequences of the February revolution of 1848? (e) "France is bored". Do you agree with this condemnation of Louis Philippe's policy.?

Louis Philippe who was placed on the French throne by the July Revolution of 1830, was the Orleanist cousin of the Bourbons. He had fought for revolutionary France and was known to hold liberal views. The July Revolution of 1830 was significant from two standpoints. First, it marked the final defeat of ultra-royalism in France. She was to adopt a constitutional monarchy. The preamble of the charter speaking of the Divine Right was dropped out. Article XIV empowering the king to issue ordinances in emergencies were repelled. The franchise was widened by lowering the property qualification. White Flag was rejected and tri-colour was restored. Louis Philippe took the title of "king of the French" instead of King of France, and thereby emphasised the fact that he owed his position to the choice of the people and not to hereditary right. And Catholicism was declared to be the religion of the majority. The Concert of European powers did not intervene in France because it might lead to war due to unexpected coup-d'état for overthrowing republicanism and establishing a constitutional regime. It is significant, secondly, for it marked the

temporary defeat of republican force which once more failed to make its voice felt in the government.

Louis' policy was to rule like a constitutional monarch of the conservative type. (1) He somewhat enlarged the franchise by lowering the property qualification and thereby doubled the number of voters. (2) The Charter was revised so as to secure greater rights to the people. (3) Censorship of the press was abolished, and (4) the peerage ceased to be hereditary. But Louis was no democrat and opposed to any further change of the system established by the Charter as revised in 1830. It was this immobility that eventually brought about his overthrow in 1848. Louis Philippe had to depend upon the support of the constitutionalists. The close restriction of the parliamentary franchise gave to this upper middle class preponderant influence over the administration and the king identified himself with the interests of this party. The people in disgust gave Louis the title of 'citizen king'. But the king did not always see eye to eye with the leaders of the constitutionalists. So there were frequent disputes between the king, his ministers and the chamber. Before the appointment of Guizot in 1840 Louis dismissed many ministers. In many respects the reign of Louis Philippe was a chapter important in the history of France. First, due to the Industrial Revolution trade and commerce increased in France. Roads and Canals were improved and railways were constructed. Secondly, this led France to a rapid colonisation all the world over. The conquest of Algeria was almost completed. France established herself on the Guinea coast in Africa and in Madagascar. Thirdly, there was the spectacular emergence of socialism as a new political creed in answer to some social problems coming directly out of the Industrial Revolution. Fourthly, a strong working class movement also came to the fore front. The idea of socialism gradually gained ground in the popular mind. The forces of republicanism and socialism ultimately succeeded in making themselves felt in the Revolution of 1848 though for a short time.

And lastly, this reign was the great age of Roman-

ticism in France and saw the outburst of literary and artistic activity. Comte, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Balzac and Dumas shed a lustre over the history of France.

The foreign policy of Louis Philippe was peaceful and naturally failed to achieve any spectacular success in this sphere. (1) He struck up the first entente cordiale with England and thus made a significant departure from earlier tradition of Anglo-French rivalry. (2) He refused to intervene on behalf of the Italian and Polish revolutions. This apathetic attitude disgusted the French people who thirsted for military glory. (3) His attempt to exploit the Belgian revolution to the advantage of France failed before the determined attitude of the British minister, Palmerston and he had to play the second fiddle to England in settling the affairs of Belgium. (4) In the crisis of 1843 in the Near East he supported the cause of Mehemet Ali but he was again thwarted by Palmerston who completely ignored him in settling the Eastern question. He threatened war but had to climb down. (5) Finally, he estranged England by a diplomatic conflict over the affairs of Spanish marriages. He broke his word to queen Victoria and engaged in a vulgar trick by marrying his son to the sister and heiress of the Spanish queen. This unsuccessful foreign policy could never commend itself to the French people who were being stirred by the Napoleonic glory.

At this time the wave of parliamentary agitation in England touched the French shore. The Chartist agitation inspired the French labour organisation against the Orleanist dynasty. Therefore, this policy of solid conservatism imposed by Louis and executed by Guizot naturally gave rise to tremendous opposition in the Chamber and outside it. In the Chamber, Thiers led a party of parliamentary reform by widening the franchise and lowering property qualification. Outside the chamber as a result of the Industrial Revolution the force of socialism gained ground with the rise of middle class capitalists and urban proletariat. The earlier socialist writers like St. Simon and Fourier propounded the Utopian socialism. By his "The Organisation

of Labour" Louis Blanc produced immediate and startling effects and preached the "right to work." The workers began to form secret societies in face of governmental repression.

But the foundation of the July Monarchy was very weak. Legitimists looked upon him as an usurper and wanted the restoration of the Bourbons. The Republicans who had largely engineered the July Revolution were bitterly disappointed at the King's moderate policy. And the Bonapartists recalled the glorious days of Napoleon and looked with contempt upon a king whose foreign policy was timid and uninspiring. Therefore, Louis had to face plots and conspiracies from the very start of his reign. There was the legitimist insurrection of 1832 inspired by the Duchesse de Berry who sought to stir up Provence and La Vendée on behalf of her son. There were republican riots at Lyons in 1834 as also attempts to assassinate the king in 1835. There were the premature attempts of Louis Napoleon to seize the crown by exciting revolts at Strassburg and Boulogne in 1835 and 1840. All these movements failed but they showed the dangers of the forces accumulated against Louis Philippe.

In 1848 the regime of Louis Philippe was overthrown. According to the French writer Lamartine, Louis Philippe fell because France was "bored". We can mention three main causes. First, disgust at the inactive policy of the middle-class oligarchy. Secondly, the people were disgusted at the tame foreign policy of the Orleanist dynasty. The people looked upon it as a betrayal of the national honour and as unduly subservient to England and thirdly, with this was added the clamour of the political parties and discontent of the republicans and the socialists. The immediate occasion of the coup d'état was the organisation of a series of "reform banquets" to stir up public opinion in favour of the extension of the franchise. The government took repressive measures against the leaders. The mob became furious and Louis was forced to dismiss Guizot. But the people seized with a republican fervour denounced the con-

tinuance of the monarchy. Louis losing heart and fearing to lose the head as well abdicated in favour of his grandson and fled to England. But the insurgents declared France a republic and set up a provisional government with Lamartine as its head. Thus the triumphant France accepted Republic for the second time,

Q. 30. (a) Narrate the history of the Second Republic and show how the second Empire came into existence. (b) What are the causes of rise and subsequent fall of the Second Republic ?

The history of the Second Republic was a very chequered and troubled one. During these five years the state was administered successfully by (1) the provisional government, (2) by the Constituent Assembly and then (3) by the President and the Legislative Assembly till the Second Empire was proclaimed on December. 2, 1852.

The provisional government was composed of two elements. The large number under Lamartine were the republicans who advocated a republican form of government. The three socialist members under Louis Blanc shared this passion for republic, but wanted to move ahead to achieve their supreme end of a social revolution. In this difference lay the possibility of subsequent conflicts. This was illustrated when on the very day of the proclamation of the republic armed workmen demanded the adoption of the red flag, emblem of socialism as the banner of France. Lamartine's oratory rose to the occasion and counteracted the demand on the ground that the tricolour flag represented the entire nation while the red flag, a mere section. By their common arrangements they achieved three things for the moment. First, decree of civil liberty and freedom of press ; second, extremist political freedom and proclamation of universal suffrage. The electorate was increased from two to ninety lacs, The first election in history on this basis was held and the National Assembly met. Thirdly, National Guard was thrown open to everybody and thus everybody was empowered to possess guns. This February

Revolution was the most striking of all the revolutions in France because of its sensational value as also for its short-life.

Unfortunately, disagreement crept in very soon as the social democrats exerted pressure for the fulfilment of their aims. Louis Blanc had two demands the first of which was embodied in his famous phrase 'the right to labour' which meant the opportunity of employment to everybody. The second, following from the first, was production by co-operative societies which was to replace private property by degrees. The government proceeded to yield on both these points, accepted the principle of 'right to labour' to be concretised by the opening of National Workshops which were, of course, intended to be failures from the beginnings to discredit the socialists. Thousands of workmen were enrolled but no actual production took place as a result of half-heartedness and mismanagements. But the ministry did not set up a ministry of progress to manage co-operative production but appointed a labour commission with Blanc at its head to investigate economic questions and report to the government. Beyond carrying on fruitless discussions it failed to do anything.

Thus the two wings broke with each other by degrees. The republicans tried to hasten the election to eliminate the socialists whose strength was limited to towns. The general elections of April 1848 ended in the total rout of the socialists who constituted only a handful of the nine hundred members of the Constituent Assembly which at once entrusted the administration to a committee of five, all anti-socialists under Lamartine. The social policy of the previous regime was abandoned and the promises of February Revolution were withdrawn. Many riots followed and were suppressed by National Guard. In June came the announcement of the closure of the National workshops which seemed to be the root of all troubles to the Assembly. The Republicans declared that they were not bound by any pledges given before the election. Thousands were thus thrown unemployed though soldierships were offered to

them. The working-class under the social democrats felt that the Revolution had been betrayed and they prepared for a second revolution. The Assembly realised the impending danger and in the name of law and order set up General Cavaignac as a dictator. The June days (23-26) saw the fiercest street fightings in Paris illustrating an open class struggle. Its suppression marked the political ruin of the socialists. The dictatorship continued till the end of October showing that one man supremacy was emerging.

The constitution of the Second Republic was a replica of the Constitution of 1793 with one great difference : (1) The institution of a strong executive due to the impression of the June days, (2) The President and the Assembly. The two co-ordinate authorities were independent of each other, both elected on the basis of universal suffrage ; (3) adoption of separation of powers and (4) presidential election due to American example. But this system could not be a success in France (1) which was centralised unlike U. S. A where Federation is a natural check ; (1) where the President came to have a strong war machinery and civil service under him and (3) the state was exposed to the socialist and Bonapartist danger.

The emergence of Napoleon was due to several causes. *First*. The Republicans committed a great blunder in leaving the choice of the President to universal suffrage. *Second*, Moreover, (1) insufficient strength ; (2) the memory of the June days and antagonism of working class and (3) an increase of the direct taxes by almost one half to solve financial dead-lock led to the loss of popularity among the middle class. *Thirdly*, magic in the name of Bonaparte showing the lack of political wisdom in France, though the ideas of Louis Napoleon had not converted the majority. enthused the French people with new inspiration. All these factors were operating in the Presidential election of December.

Louis Napoleon, the hero of two attempted coups to seize power in 1836 and 1840 was an allowed candidate for presidency and received support from all those opposed

to the republic including even the legitimists and Orleanists. He also stood for stability and was elected by an absolute majority. Though the new President swore allegiance to the Constitution, this republic was a unique political experiment as the President did not believe in Republic at heart. His foreign policy which started with an intervention in Italy leading to the overthrow of the Roman Republic showed at once that the liberals were doomed to disappointment. By this he wanted to enlist Catholic support forgetting that he had himself been a Carbonari in early life. An unwise Republic insurrection (June, 1849) was put down and drastic steps against them were taken.

The Assembly too consisted largely of monarchists and Bonapartists who were returned as the general public believed republic to be dangerous to order and prosperity. (1) In 1850 the Assembly undertook suppression of the secular education of the July monarchy and this was handed over to the clergy. (2) Franchise law accepted the powerful universal suffrage, imposed a residential qualification of three years which disfranchised large mass of workmen.

But very soon conflict between the President and the Assembly became evident following President's early approval of the franchise law. To discredit the Assembly Louis now raised a propaganda that this had violated the principle of popular sovereignty and as the guardian of the constitution demanded its repeal. Meanwhile he was secretly packing up all high civil and military appointments with his own partisans and wanted a fresh base of power. This was promptly refused. Consequently Coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851 took place on the anniversary of Austerlitz and was declared as a repetition of the 18th Brumaire. All the monarchist and Republican leaders were arrested and the Assembly was dissolved in the name of the principle of popular sovereignty. Insurrections of 3rd and 4th December were followed by the proclamation of martial law under cover of which the supremacy of the President was secured. That was sanctioned by the overwhelming majority of the people on December,

20, 1851. Though he was an absolute sovereign, in fact, he maintained the resemblance of Presidentship for a year after which the people were called upon to vote. The popular will gave verdict in favour of the revival of the Empire and on the 1st anniversary of the Coup d'état of 2nd December, Napoleon III proclaimed himself "Emperor of the French".

The causes of the failure of the Second Republic are not far to seek. First, the forces that made the February Revolution struck with each other. Actual fightings started within 3 months between the republicans and the socialists. Second, both republicans and socialists were strong enough to overturn the July monarchy but these were not strong enough to stabilise their rule, as both failed to obtain support from the countryside of the peasantry. Thus the election on the basis of universal franchise eliminated the socialists and the republicans successively. Third, the progress of the Revolution and the socialist experiments though unimportant caused uneasiness among the middle class and a large section of the rich peasantry. The second Empire meant to them an insurance against anarchy. Fourth, the blank in popular mind unoccupied by Jacobin or socialist sentiments was a prey to prejudices and illusions. The great part of it fell under the influence of Bonapartism, a fusion of right and centre principles. The clericals and moderate reforms sought in it a bulwark against extremism.

Q. 31. (a) Narrate the history of the second empire and show how the third Republic came into existence. (b) What are the causes of the fall of the second Republic? (c) "Napoleon III was a man to whom both history and historians have done scant justice". Do you agree? (d) "Even without the military disaster of 1870 the collapse of the Second Empire could not have been delayed." Discuss this statement and account for the downfall of Napoleon III. "Even without the military disaster of 1870 the collapse of the Second Empire could not have been delayed." Discuss this statement and account for the downfall of Napoleon III.

Ans. The political theory of Bonapartism was shaped by Napoleon's admirers basing themselves on the talks between Napoleon and his staff at St. Helena. It was given a classic expression in a book called *Napoleonic Ideas* by Louis Napoleon. The theory held that the supreme necessity in France was a centralised, orderly, dictatorial rule to be exercised by the family of Napoleon whose historic mission was to symbolise national unity and national greatness. Such a rule was to depend on an expression of popular will through occasional plebiscites. The actual form of administration would be the concentration of all authority in the hands of the chosen leader from the House of Bonaparte. The theory further held that after an undefined period of such dictatorial rule the edifice will be crowned with liberty and the government will be transformed into a normal and liberal constitution. It is, of course, unhistorical that this was Napoleon I's real theory of government and it is controversial how far Louis Napoleon believed in it himself but, in any case this provided an excellent cover for Bonapartist family ambition.

In the days of the July Monarchy the theory of Bonapartism made headway partly through the revived interest in Napoleons achievements and partly through the activities of Louis Napoleon himself which manifested themselves in the incidents of Strassburg, Bolougne. The defence speech of Louis Napoleon at his trial and his romantic escape from prison. In the presidential election under the Second Republic the magic name of Napoleon won tremendous support for Louis. Other reasons for his victory were the panic caused by the June days which led all conservative-minded people to seek the safety of a strong moderate government. The combination of all moderate and centrist elements to defeat the danger from the left and the lack of support amongst the backward masses for either the socialist or the Jacobin ideology. Selected President Louis played his cards well and in December 1851 he had his 18th Brumaire and seized supreme authority. On the next anniversary of Austerlitz he assumed the imperial title of

Napoleon III after a plebiscite of nearly eight million votes.

The constitution of the Second Empire ratified by a plebiscite was almost a replica of that of 1739. The one important change out of deference to the time-spirit was the revision of universal suffrage in the elections for legislature. But universal suffrage was rendered almost innoxious by the fact that the legislative body had no real power. Legislative initiative was not given to it and it did not even enjoy publicity because of its proceedings could not be fully reported. Moreover the legislative body was under the supervision of the nominated Senate which could veto its bills and even alter the constitution. The nominated Council of States was really the pivot of administration and the Emperor had all control over the Council of State and the Senate, administration and the army and the press. This was the dictatorial government and it was only the failure of this regime to achieve anything spectacular at home or abroad and the mounting discontent in the country that led to change and the introduction of the experiment of the liberal Empire in 1869-70 to be cut-short by the Franco-German war.

Napoleon III always posed as the leader of the nation not of any section or class. But nothing very remarkable could be done by him in two decades. The high-lights of his domestic policy may thus be catalogued. (1) He revived the splendid court which roused the envy of Europe with its plebiscites and magnificence. (2) He rebuilt the city of Paris with its splendid avenues and boulevards. (3) He gave an impetus to industrial development and organised the great exhibition of 1855. (4) He tried to encourage trade by the Free Trade Treaty with England (1860, the Cobden Treaty) a treaty which pleased some but enraged the French manufacturers. (5) He completed the rail-system of France and (6) allowed the French workers to form legal trade unions. But all this was after all nothing very remarkable and certainly did not create a new happy society which Bonapartism had promised.

When the long rule of the Second Empire produced little appreciable change Frenchmen could not but think that this was hardly worthy sacrifice of all civil liberty and political power for the people. It was natural, therefore, to find a gradual revival of the forces of the left, Republicans and Socialists. A large number of Frenchmen had left the country at the time of the Coup d'état and many of them like Victor Hugo refused to come back even after an amnesty with France. Left sentiment steadily developed as revealed by successive election figures. When the regime could not be directly attacked it was ridiculed (Hugo's poem). Towards the end of the period open republican agitation burst out round the figure of the lawyer Gumbetta, whose speeches roused great excitement. The socialist propaganda ran parallel to the republicans, especially after the organization of the First International of 1864. Blanqui continued his activities and in the industrial cities like Paris, Lyons and Marseilles the socialists became the dominant force once again. In fact, France was seething with left ideas and as latter events showed these had made greater headway than before 1848. This is proved by the fact that when the Empire failed there could be though for a short time a republican regime in the shape of Paris Commune and that France had to turn to the republic once again.

The Second Empire also failed to produce any great impression in its foreign policy. Great expectations were roused by the revival of a Napoleonic rule but the Napoleonic glory proved to be unattainable. At the same time the assurance of Napoleon III that the Empire stood for a policy of peace was not fulfilled. The foreign policy revealed its weakness in its contradictory tendencies, a curious mixture of clericalism and liberalism; of imperialist ambition and the idea of national self-determination. Whatever the immediate object this foreign policy had no spectacular success. Just as in actual fighting Napoleon III could not repeat a single Napoleonic triumph. (1) In 1847 he saved the temporal power of the Pope from the Mazzinians. (2) In 1851-52 he quarrelled with Russia about the Holy Places

in the Turkish Empire. (3) From 1853-55 he fought the Crimean war but fought in vain in the revenge for 1812. (4) In 1856 he dominated the Paris Peace Congress, in some way the climax of his external policy. (5) In 1858 he concluded the Secret Pact of Plombiers. (6) In 1858-59 he was largely responsible for the recognition of the union of the two Danubian principalities into one state of Rumania. (7) In 1858 he defeated Austria to the benefit of Sardinia but let down Cavour at Villa franca. (8) In 1860 he looked helplessly on as first Central Italy and then South Italy was liberated. But he forfeited the claim to Italian gratitude by annexing Savoy and Nice and preserving the Pope's power in Rome. (9) In 1863 he boldly but ineffectively protested against the suppression of Poland and (10) in 1864 he was helpless when Denmark was coerced by Austria and Prussia, (11) From 1862-67 his hands were full with the Mexican adventure. Taking advantage of the American Civil War, he sent an expedition to Mexico to compel payment of dues to the French investors but this turned out to be only a pretext for setting up a grandiose scheme of a Latin Empire in the New World. The end of the American Civil War (1865) revived the Monroe Doctrine and Napoleon was forced to abandon his scheme and his puppet Emperor Maximilian to the mercies of the revengeful Mexicans. Altogether the Mexican episode was a great rebuff and a stain on his honour. In Europe he was fooled by Bismark at Bairritz (1865) and helplessly allowed the upsetting of the balance of power in Germany to the advantage of Prussia in 1866. Failing to stop Bismark Napoleon III further mismanaged things by vague but ambitious plans of compensation for France at the cost of Belgium, Luxemburg in 1867 and the South German states.

The autocratic regime was difficult to maintain in face of the lack of any army achievements. As early as 1859 Napoleon made a liberal gesture in issuing an amnesty for political offenders. In 1860, he allowed legislature to discuss once a year, the entire government policy in its

annual address. Publicity of legislative proceedings was permitted. In 1867 members of the legislatures were allowed to ask interpellations from ministers. By 1868 the Press censorship was relaxed and public meetings permitted but the real change came in 1869 when Napoleon already suffering from disease began to think seriously of the future of his family. The moderate liberals organised into the third Party under Ollivier advised the emperor to safeguard the future of the House in the face of the rising discontent by a liberal constitution. A constitution was proclaimed accordingly, setting up normal parliamentary government with a responsible ministry under the constitutional emperor. In 1870 the Constitution was ratified by a plebiscite but before the experiment could be tested the Franco-German war broke out. Despite the plebiscite of 1870 it became evident that a successful war alone could retrieve the fortunes of the Empire and check the flood of democratic opinion threatening to engulf it.

The coming of the war in 1870 revealed the height of imperial inaptitude. The question of Spanish crown was completely mismanaged and Bismark out-manoeuvred the emperor and the ministers. What was more serious was the revelation made by the war itself. Everything proved to be topsyturvey and the disorganisation and unpreparedness were unbelievable. It was this last shock of complete incapacity which finally destroyed the Bonapartist illusion. Half the French army was driven to Metz and the other half with the emperor himself was forced to surrender at Sedan.

On the news of Sedan, the Paris mob came out on September 4, 1870 with the cry of a republic. The Assembly at once proclaimed the Third Republic. A provisional government including Gambetta was set up calling itself the government of National Defence. Setting aside the Bonapartist family, this government wanted, however, to prevent German conquest and domination. The war, therefore, continued, but in spite of the heroic defence of Paris the French were forced to sue for peace. As Bismark's

terms were drastic including Alsace, Lorraine and an indemnity the Provisional Government put the issue before the people. The Assembly elected by Universal Suffrage set up a new government which concluded the Treaty of Frankfurt by accepting Bismark's demands.

This was unpopular with the Paris extremists. What was even more serious to them was the fear that the new Assembly dominated again by the moderates would now proceed to undo the Republic and restore the monarchy. Paris and the industrial cities did not want to submit to any new edition of the old regime. The idea, therefore, arose of decentralisation which would allow the advanced parts of France atleast to manage their own affairs. This was the theory of turning France into a Federation of autonomous Communes. The city of Paris was driven along this path by the policy of the new government which tried to interfere with affairs in Paris. When the government ordered the disarmament of the National Guard, wanted to remove the guns from Paris and directed the collection of all debts and dues suspended during the long siege the Parisians began to resist. Fighting broke out in which the socialist extremists came into the ferefront on March 8, 1871. Paris was proclaimed to be a commune and other areas invited to set up similar autonomous governments. A general council of ninety was elected to discharge all Government functions, legislative executive, and the rest. In the fightings which followed till the end of May, the commanders showed great heroism but revealed also their disunion, lack of leadership or a clear programme. The Commune was suppressed with terrible slaughter, 17000 being killed, about 10000 punished and a much larger total harrassed and arrested. But though the Paris Commune was suppressed, it produced a very deep impression amongst the working class and historians have connected the type of organisation set up in Paris in 1871 with the Soviets in the next generation.

The National Assembly elected in 1871 set up a new government headed by Thiers, the veteran politician of the

Orleanist days. As head of the new government he suppressed the Paris Commune and concluded the Treaty of Frankfurt, reorganised the French army on the basis of conscription after the Prussian model in 1872 and in 1873 paid off the heavy war-indemnity and thus liberated the French soil from the German army of occupation. But in 1879 he was forced to resign by the majority of the Assembly on the question of Republic declared by the Paris crowd on September 4, 1870. But after the experience of the Paris revolt the monarchists did not dare to declare openly against the Republic. Therefore, they claimed the right of the Assembly to frame the new constitution and at the same time delayed constitution making. After the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of the army of occupation the monarchist majority thought the time ripe to establish a monarchical system. The head of the executive, Thiers, had been provisionally styled President of the Republic in 1871. But in 1873 when he wanted to confirm the Republic on the argument that the Republic was a form of government which would least divide the French people he was driven out from office and replaced by Marshal MacMahon, who was openly a monarchist in sympathy. But the monarchical cause suffered heavily from the discussion amongst the supporters of the Bourbon, the Orleanist and the Bonapartist claimants. Moreover, the Bourbon claimant, the Count de Chambord would not accept any other flag except the white flag of the Bourbons.

Meanwhile a powerful agitation sprang up in the country led by Gambetta for the confirmation of the Republic. As the Assembly delayed the framing of the constitution the Republicans demanded its replacement by a new Assembly. Afraid of the new election, the monarchists had to frame the constitution in 1875. The constitution did not proclaim a republic but the Head of the State continued to have the title of the President. The constitution set up a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies elected by Universal suffrage. The ministers were to be responsible to the Chamber, so that the President was likely to develop into a constitutional

Head of the State like the English king. Thus was established the system of the Third Republic though the authors of the constitution avoided the name Republic which was introduced into the constitution only by a later amendment in 1884. President Macmahon and the majority of the Assembly still hoped to bring in the monarchy by the back-door in 1875.

Estimate : The career of Napoleon, full of contrasts and inconsistencies, is difficult to estimate. He had been variously described as an idiot, a villain and a statesman. But he had shown his statesmanship in his home and foreign fronts. First, he was a patriot of high standard. Under his regime France attained economic prosperity. Trade and commerce flourished with rapid industrialisation. (2) He encouraged free trade policy and had genuine sympathy for the poor. (3) The Suez and the Panama canals were foreseen by him and he contributed to the ultimate completion of the Suez. (4) In foreign policy before 1861 he won the Crimean War and wiped out the humiliation of Napoleon I. (5) He supported though ineffectively the Polish revolutionaries, (6) He paved the way for the Italian and German unifications. He had genuine sympathy for national self-determination, So Riker says. "Napoleon III is a man to whom both history and the historians have done scant justice."

But he had darker side of his character. First, in his domestic policy his subjects obtained economic prosperity at the cost of civil and political liberties. (2) The growing opposition of political parties at home was responsible for his faulty domestic policy. (3) He lost popularity in Europe by proving himself an aggressor in Italy, Germany and Mexico. (4) Due to his lack of diplomatic farsightedness he alienated Russia and isolated and weakened Austria and in the end himself was hoodwinked by Bismark in the battle of Sedan.

The occasion of Napoleon III's fall was the battle of Sedan in 1870. But the general causes of the collapse of the Napoleonic regime lie partly in the limitations of his

character partly in the political horizon of the period. First, he lacked political far-sightedness. He revealed his inability to cope with the situation in critical moments at his home and foreign fronts. Secondly, these limitations of his character led him to commit some grave political blunders. Both home and foreign policy of Louis were inconsistent and unreliable. And his failure to follow a firm resolution led to his loss of popularity. Thirdly, he got little assistance from efficient officials under him. He was misled by hot-headed politicians. Fourthly, consequently, he had to reckon with the growing opposition at home as all sections of people grew tired of him. The lampoons of Rochefort and the denunciations of Gambetta cast a lurid light on the career of the Emperor. Fifthly, moreover, he was unpopular with the foreign diplomats too. He antagonised Russia and weakened Austria and aggrieved his neighbouring states. (6) In the face of strong opposition he could not fall upon any reliable party of his own or could not mobilise public opinion or of the intellectualists in his favour. Moreover he had to rely on an inefficient military organisation which was already exhausted in useless foreign wars before Sedan. (7) His fall was due also partly to rise of Cavour and Bismark. These two diplomatic personalities played well with the Emperor and at last defeated him in diplomatic skirmish. Eight, their triumph signalised the triumph of nationalism abroad and republicanism at home. He was more a foreigner and an aggressor to those forces.

The events of the next few years destroyed the hopes of the monarchists. In the elections under the new constitution the republicans obtained a majority in the Chamber in 1876, captured the Senate in 1877 and early in 1879 forced Marshal Macmahon to resign and elected to the presidency Jules Grevy, a convinced republican. When Gambetta died in 1881 the Republic was firmly established as a form of government.

The subsequent history of the Third Republic was stormy though the constitution was never really challenged.

The clericals had tried their best to prevent a republic and the republicans retorted with Gambetta's slogans that the main enemy was clericalism. When the republicans were secured in power they proceeded to establish compulsory, free and secular elementary education in the early 80's as the best antidote to clericalism. About 1888 the republic was in danger by the ambitions of general Boulanger who like a new Bonaparte began to build up a powerful group round him. But the republicans realised his bluff and the general fell from power as rapidly as he had arisen. Towards the end of the century France was convulsed by a great controversy over the treatment of a Jewish soldier, Dreyfus who had been punished as a traitor. All progressives in France carried on a terrific campaign for the cancellation of this sentence as facts had been revealed showing that Dreyfus was the victim of a conspiracy by certain persons in authority. The campaign of Emil Zola and others finally led to justice being done to Dreyfus after years of personal controversy. In 1905 the radical republicans separated the Catholic Church from the state. Left opinions were further strengthened by growth of a powerful socialist movement in France under men like Jules Ferry. The history of the Third Republic is also notable for a highly successful colonial policy which led to the organization of a vast empire in Africa and some dominions in the Pacific area. In Europe the most important achievement was the dual alliance with Russia after 1891 which ended the isolation of France with Russia since 1870. Later on the celebrated entente or understanding was concluded with England in 1904 followed by the formation of the triple entente in 1907. This triple alliance faced the common German menace in the First World War.

Q. 32. (a) What do you know of the Greek War of Independence? Account for the success of the Greeks. (b) Trace in outline the main phases of the Eastern Question from 1815 to 1878.

A. The first national rising in the Balkan peninsula took place in Serbia in 1804 led by Kara George. Being

isolated and hard-pressed by Turkey by 1813 Serbia fought on alone. In 1817 Kara George gave way to the ascendancy of Milosh Obrenovitch who strongly supported by Russia secured from Turkey some measure of autonomy for Serbia and the recognition of his own right as the hereditary prince of the Serbs. Tributary Serbia was placed under Russia's protection.

Greece: The second step in the dismemberment of Turkey was taken up by the Greeks. There are mainly three causes for the revolt. First, the Greeks had been treated with marked favour and toleration among the subject races of the Porte. As a consequence of autonomy a middle class had emerged with the flourishing Greek trade and industry. This improving material condition urged them to achieve independence. Second, with material prosperity national consciousness of the Greeks was stimulated by an intellectual revival which recalled the glories of the ancient Hellas. In 1814 the Philke Hetairia was founded. Its objects were (1) to disseminate nationalist doctrines, (2) to expel the Turks from Europe and (3) to revive the old Greek Empire of the East. (4) They attempted armed preparation for a revolt. The society expected Russian support because (1) The Greeks and the Russians belonged to the same branch of Christianity and (2) because the downfall of Turkey would contribute to Russian aggrandisement. Third, the occasion of the war of independence was the revolt of Ali Pasha, the Turkish governor of Janina in 1821. Moldavia under Prince Hypsilanti revolted together with Morea. But Hypsilanti was defeated by the Turks and the movement fizzled out lacking Russian support. But the Turks were exterminated in the Morea. For the first six years the powers did not intervene and the Greeks were left to their unaided effort. Metternich being afraid of revolution and Russian aggrandisement near the Austrian border-land wanted to let this revolt "burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization." At the Convention of Hanover the king of Prussia and the Tsar were persuaded not to intervene in the Greek war. But by 1827 the Sultan

called upon Mehmet Ali of Egypt to fight against the Greeks. Ibrahim, the son of Mehmet Ali landed in the Morea and swept everything before him. The fall of Missolonghi in 1826 followed by the capture of Athens next year, broke the backbone of Greek resistance. Philhellenic sentiments outburst in Europe. The sympathy of the people was reinforced by the fear of the princes against Russian aggrandisement. The wavering Alexander died in 1825 and was succeeded by his more resolute brother Nicholas I. Canning succeeded Castlereagh who wanted to help the Greeks without alienating Turkey. To prevent independent action on the part of Russia he induced France and Czar Nicholas to combine with England in forcing an armistice on the Porte and compelling her to accept the joint mediation of the Powers. A joint note was accordingly despatched to Turkey but the Sultan refused to accede to the proposals of armistice. The allied fleets, therefore, completely destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino after a chance encounter (1827). After Canning Wellington reversing the previous policy hastened to apologise to the Porte, declaring it as an "untoward event". England withdrew from the scene allowing Russia a free hand. On her own responsibility Russia declared war against Turkey and forced her to come to terms. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) Turkey recognised the independence of Greece and granted practical autonomy to the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. To Russia she granted an increase of territory in Asia as well as increased commercial and political rights. But England became nervous and to save her face they arranged a meeting in London. By the Convention of London in 1832 the new kingdom of Greece was placed under the joint guarantee of the powers. The Treaty of Adrianople was thus a signal victory for Russian policy.

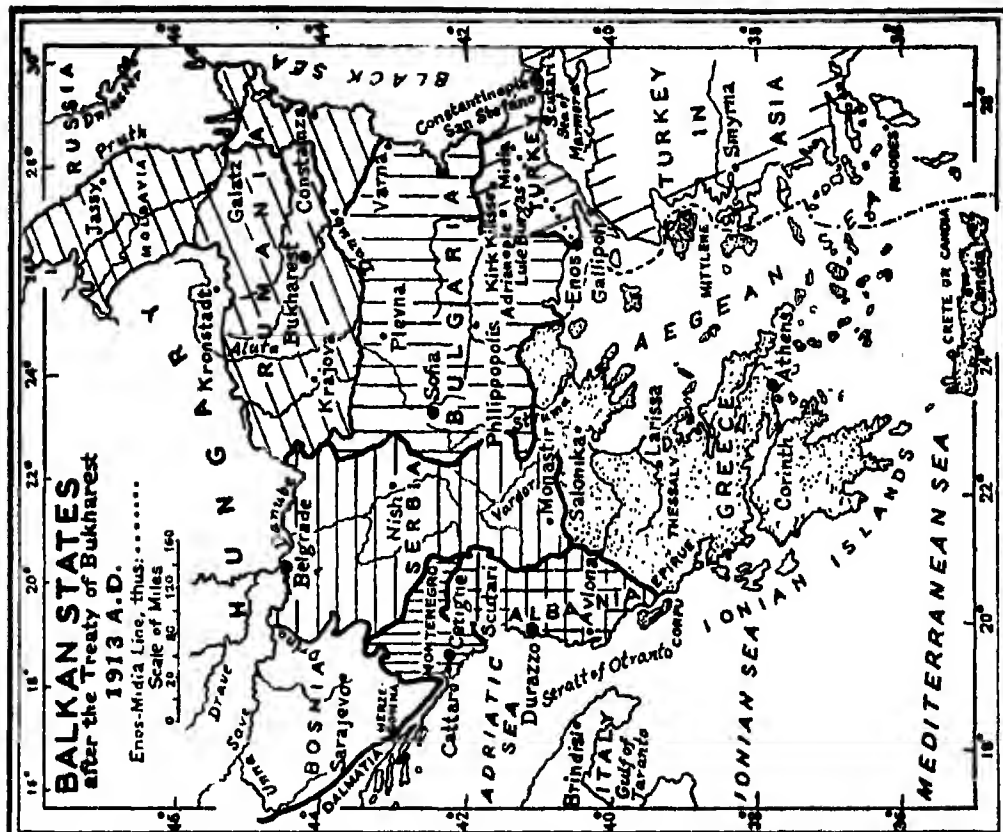
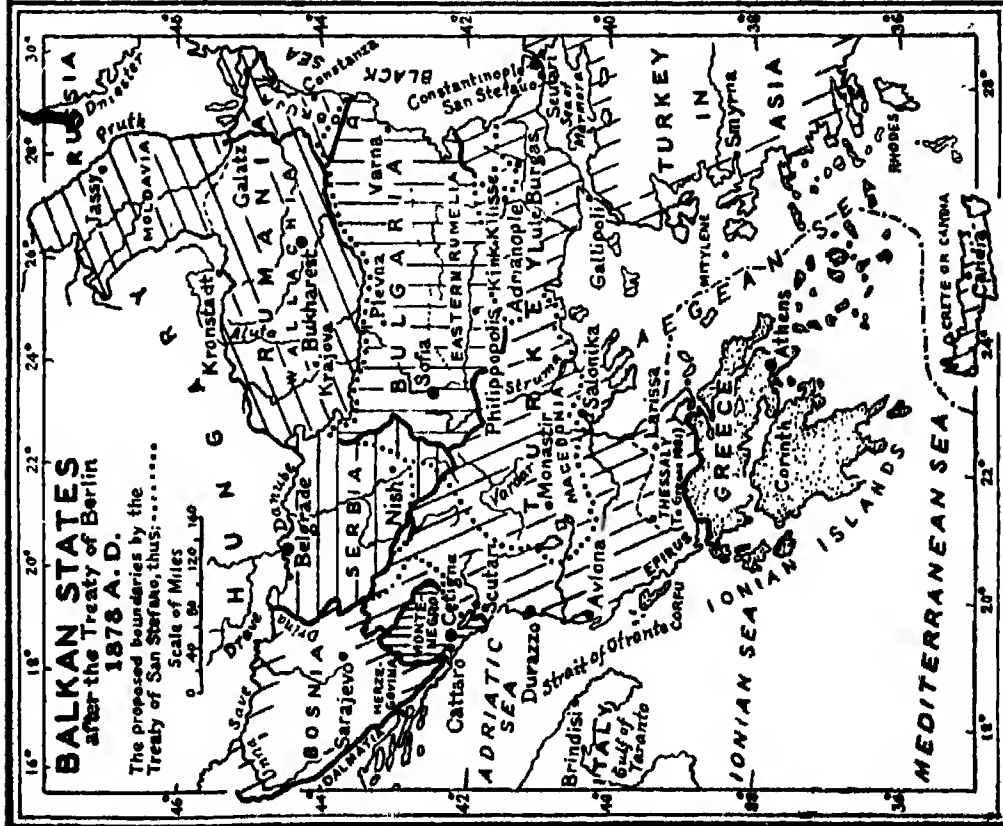
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by Russia in 1829 Sultan Mahmood and his ministers Khasru and Rashid adopted a policy of westernisation to recoup the Turkish strength. Mahmud proclaimed equality of all subjects irrespective of religion and embarked on a programme of reform. This, however caused only confusion in the Turkish state and provoked an orthodox reaction.

The unpopularity of reforming government provided an opportunity to the ambition of Mahmood Ali, the nominal vassal of the Sultan who had already built up the Egyptian military strength on the French model, conquered the Sudan and was aspiring after building up an Arab dominion in the Middle East. He now claimed the province of Syria as the reward for his intervention in the Greek war and on the Sultan's refusal, the army of his son Ibrahim overran in 1832, Syria and Asia Minor threatening Constantinople itself.

The Sultan appealed for help to the great powers, but England and France were busy with Belgium. Nicholas I, however, promptly offered help as since 1829, Russia was thinking of a new policy of extending its influence in the Near East through the weak Turkish state instead of pursuing her traditional policy of destroying Turkey. The Sultan accepted the Russian offer with the remark "a drowning man will clasp at a serpent."

This new turn of events frightened England, France and they now promptly came forward to arrange a peace between Mohamed Ali and Mahmud. In April 1833, they persuaded the two parties to accept the Convention of Kiutayeh which gave Mohamed Syria and the passes leading to Asia Minor. This was, of course, to forestall the Russian intervention with its evil consequences.

The Anglo-French policy of settling the Eastern question overshot the mark because the terms of the Convention imposed by them were extremely irksome to the Turkish government. This was the opportunity for Russia to extend her influence over the Sultan and in early 1833 was concluded the Treaty of Unkair Skelessi. This virtually placed Turkey

under Russian protection for the future and also stipulated that the Dardanelles would be closed to foreign warships, whenever Russia would demand it, thereby protecting the Anglo-french fleet. The actual treaty was not very important, because the Russian influence on Turkey arose from proximity and not from any document. This closure of the Dardanelles could not really stop the English fleet if it wanted to sail to the Black Sea, as 1854 proved. But the existence of the treaty was a perpetual reminder of the new Russian policy of controlling Turkey and was, therefore, highly unpopular with the western powers.

This diplomatic triumph of 1833 was followed up by Russia in establishing a formal alliance between the three eastern powers, a redeclaration of the Holy alliance. This was achieved by the Conference in September 1833 at Munchengratz which proclaimed the united stand of the three powers against revolutionary propaganda and proclaimed the new policy of protecting the Turkish integrity. The western powers, however, persisted in their suspicions that the protection of Turkey would mean merely a cover for virtual partition of the Turkish empire between Austria and Russia. At the same time the Russian advance in Central Asia was startling the British anxiety about the safety of India.

In face of the revived Holy Alliance two constitutional powers of the west naturally drew together. The Anglo-french entente ripened into the Quadruple Alliance of April 1834 which took in the liberal governments of queen Maria of Portugal and queen Isabella of Spain. This was Palmerston's answer to Murchengratz. But unfortunately for him, the Anglo-French understanding was not very solid and was described by Wellington as merely a card-board alliance. Nicholas made it his aim now to widen the rift between England and France at the earliest opportunity.

After the Quadruple alliance Palmerston turned to strengthen the British position in the east. In Aug. 1838, he concluded a commercial treaty with Turkey to check Mohamed Ali's plan of dominating the trade in the near

east by Egyptian monopolies. In 1839, England occupied Aden as a further check to Mohamed Ali.

About the same time British policy in India embarked on the plan to control the N. W. frontier against the possibility of a Russian advance. This led to the First Afghan War.

The latest crisis in the Near East flared up again in June 1859 when the Sultan attacked Mehemet Ali to recover his losses of 1833. But the Turks were again defeated by Ibrahim at Negeb and Constantinople was once more in danger.

The danger from Mohamed Ali was aggravated by the fact that he was getting moral and financial support from France where popular opinion was loud in his support and regarded him as almost a product of Napoleon's policy. The French government wanted to use Mohamed Ali's prestige to build up French influence in the Levant and this also helped in widening the rift in Anglo-french entente.

At this moment, Nicholas I decided to further develop his policy with the aims of separating England from France. After a visit to England by the Tsar's son, the Russian agent Burma offered to Palmerston the proposal of an Anglo-Russian agreement. Nicholas was ready to abandon the treaty of Unkair Skelessi which was a stumbling block to any joint action and promised not to intervene in Turkey in a single-handed manner. Thus was opened up a prospect of an Anglo-Russian understanding in the place of Anglo-french.

In July 1840 was concluded the Quadruple Alliance of great powers minus France with the avowed object of joint protection of Turkey against Mohamed Ali. Mohamed Ali. was determined to keep Syria for his own life-time and Egypt for his house. The treaty of Unkair Skelessi was cancelled but that did not upset the new Russian policy of ready compromise with England on the basis of mutual agreement.

The alliance of 1840 was a slap in the face to the French government which had encouraged Mohamed Ali. In face of the united front France had to climb down and virtually

abandoned the cause of Mohamed Ali. The French king dismissed his war-like minister Thiers and the pacific Guizot came into office but France had been publicly humbled.

The four powers now proceeded to coerce the isolated Mohamed Ali. They pushed him out of Syria which he had acquired in 1833 and restored Turkish authority by giving it a new lease of life. After checking Mohamed Ali the powers settled the Eastern Question for the time being by the London Convention of 1841-42. As a recognition of Russian good-will illustrated by the new policy of Nicholas it was agreed in 1842 to close the Straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus in times of peace to non-Turkish war-ships. But the high-hopes of a permanent settlement in the near east were destined to disappointment as the next phase of the Eastern Question demonstrated.

Q. 34 (a) Discuss the causes and consequences of the Crimean War ?

(b) The Crimean War was in a sense the watershed of European history"—Explain.

(c) Discuss the circumstances leading to the Crimean War and show how far England was responsible for the war. (d) What was the historical significance of the Treaty of Paris ?

The new phase of the Eastern Question begins in 1852 with the dispute about the custody of the Holy Christian shrines in the Turkish Empire between the Latin Catholic and orthodox Greek monks. By the Capitulation of 1740 France had the right of protecting Catholic interest in Turkey. In the period after 1740 free thought and French Revolution had turned attention away from the rights acquired in 1740. The Treaty of Kainardji (1774) had given to Russia a sort of guardianship over the orthodox christian subjects of Turkey. By 1851 the Greek monks had acquired control over the shrines which the Latin monks hotly disputed. Napoleon III to placate the clerical support in France began to back the Latin claims and demanded the fulfilment of the French

rights of 1740. Nicholas I answered that the rights proceeding from the 1774 treaty must not be set aside in any way. Thus the clash between the two sects developed into a clash between two powers and the Sultan's government followed the happy game of playing off one party against the other.

The Franco-Russian tension arising from 1851 was aggravated by the clash of personalities. Nicholas I as the champion of the old order of legitimacy refused to recognise the title of the "Third" which Napoleon claimed. He also addressed the head of the French state as "my friend" instead of "brother". Napoleon III resented this attitude and he would not also forget that the second empire should not miss an opportunity of avenging the first on Russia. In this way personal antagonism reinforced the clash of interest which had arisen regarding the control of the Christian subjects of Turkey.

The Franco-Russian tension became really important when England began to be drawn into the scuffle. Here Nicholas first adhered to the new policy of an understanding with England which had been seen in the Quadruple alliance of 1840 and in the talk with Aberdeen in 1844. As late as January 1853, Nicholas repeated his plans of an Anglo-Russian understanding with Turkey. Describing Turkey as sick-man the Tsar suggested that the Turkish inheritance might be amicably divided into the spheres of the two powers most concerned. Britain was invited to take Egypt and Crete and Russia might be allowed to control Constantinople and the Dardanelles, although not in proprietary right. The English minister listened politely to the Tsar without making clear the fundamental British objections to any further Russian advance at the expense of Turkey. Thus the Tsar lived under an illusion that it might be possible to come to an agreement with England on the basis of give and take. This illusion which the British government did not dispel by any clear stand was one of the major causes of the Crimean War.

Misreading the British attitude Nicholas adopted a hectoring attitude towards Turkey. In March 1853 he sent

to Turkey Menschicoff with haughty demands for satisfaction. Both the demands and the manner of representation roused Turkish anger and the sympathy of the western powers towards Turkey.

The English ambassador in Turkey Stratford Canning took up the task of checking the Russian pressure. By his advice the two demands of Russia were separately answered. The question of the custody of the Holy places was set by a reasonable compromise between the Latins and the Greeks. But on Canning's advice Turkey categorically rejected the demand for formal confirmation of Russian claims to protect Christian subjects. In doing this Turkey felt sure of Anglo-French backing.

Thereupon a Russian force occupied the Danubian principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) by way of putting pressure upon Turkey. Thus Russia had at first sought to dismember Turkey and when that was found not feasible, she sought to control her by interfering in her internal affairs.

The conduct of Russia caused a flutter in the courts of Europe and the whole question assumed a general European importance. As the crisis developed an attempt was naturally made by the four great Powers not directly involved in the Russo-Turkish quarrel to arrange a conference. In Aug. 1850 they invited both parties to accept the Vienna Note as the basis of settlement. The Turkish government encouraged by Stratford Canning introduced an amendment for the protection of the Christian subjects by the Sultan. Russia refused to accept the three words proposed. On this issue the Vienna Note broke down.

In October, 1853 the British and the French fleets were ordered into Turkish waters as a counter-move to the Russian occupation of the principalities. This move was to bolster up Turkey against the Russian pressure.

In January, 1854 on the news of Russian naval attack on the Turkish port of Sinope which was strongly described as massacre of Sinope, the Anglo-French fleet sailed into the Black Sea ignoring the Straits Convention of 1842. The

object was to force the Russian fleet to enter the Russian ports. The two Powers also sent a joint ultimatum to Russia demanding the evacuation of the principalities. As Russia refused to comply with the demand France and England signed a Treaty of alliance with Turkey and declared war against Russia in march 1854.

Russian army in the Danube region could not advance very far. In June 1854 Austria being nervous of the Russian aggrandisement in the Balkan region compelled by threat of war the Russian evacuation of the principalities. The allies were also reinforced by troops from Sardinia-Piedmont whose king joined the war in the hope of securing the friendship of France.

The two Western Powers now defined their war aims by August, 1854 in the so-called Four Points : (1) The end of Russian protectorate over the Danubian principalities ; (2) the free navigation of the Danube ; (3) the neutralisation of the Black Sea and (4) the end of Russian rights over Christians. Austria gave her moral support. On Russian refusal to accept the Four Points the Anglo-French forces invaded the Crimea and after terrible sufferings in the winter of 1854-55 destroyed the great naval base of Sebastopol. Nicholas who had relied on winter died after his hopes had broken down but it must be admitted that the hopes of Napoleon III to win a Napoleonic victory had also failed.

In January 1855, at a critical moment in the war, the Western Powers were unexpectedly reinforced by Sardinia. This was part of Cavour's strategy of winning Anglo-French good will for Italian cause. In December 1855 the agony of the war which was prolonged by the Russian obstinacy at last came to an end by the Austrian threat of intervention if Russia did not accept the Four Points. This decided the issue and Russia yielded.

The Congress of Paris concluded peace in March 1855. The Treaty incorporated all the Four Points and added four supplementary points, namely (1) autonomy of the two principalities, (2) the taking away of Bessarabia on the mouth of the Danube from Russia ; (c) a solemn Turkish

promise of generous treatment to the Christian subjects and the recognition of Turkey as a full and equal member of the family of European nations.

The Crimean War began rather accidentally arising from a Russian misunderstanding of British attitude. Nicholas thought his relation with England friendly and acted rashly. He thought later on that Britain had wilfully misled him while British statement maintained that their policy was always clear. The popular demand for peace in England also misled him though Britain could easily swim to her traditional anti-Russian policy. Turkey in adding to the misunderstanding followed a clever calculated policy.

From the terrible sufferings of the war and the impermanence of its results it had been branded by the historians like Kinglake, Sir Robert Morier and others as the only perfectly useless modern war that has been waged. But every war means destruction and sufferings and in case of this war one can only say that reports of this war roused tremendous public excitement. For the first time the reports of war were published in paper to horrify the people. Some other historians like Lord Cromer opined that the Crimean war was the watershed of the modern European history of the nineteenth century. Professor Taylor writes in his "The struggle for mastery in Europe, "Mutual fear, not mutual aggression caused the Crimean War. Nevertheless it was not a war without a purpose."

Results : The Crimean War was rich with immediate and far-reaching consequences. Some of its repercussions in the European politics developed immediately from the Treaty of Paris,

Direct Results : First, the Peace of Paris which closed the Crimean War checked Russian schemes upon Turkey for a time. Russia had (i) to abandon all claims to a protectorate over the orthodox Christian subjects of Turkey. (ii) She was kept back from the Danube by the cession of Bessarabia to Moldavia and (iii) from the Black Sea which was neutralised. Moreover, (iv) the creation

of two autonomous states (Wallachia and Moldavia) placed a barrier between Russia and Turkey and thus for a time prevented the former from pursuing a policy of aggrandisement. Secondly, in a sense Turkey was the greatest gainer by the Crimean War. She obtained a new lease of life under the joint protection of the Powers, her territorial integrity was guaranteed and she was admitted as a member of the Concert of Europe from which she had been previously excluded. She thus got a fine chance to set her house in order and to develop into a respectable power. Looked at from these points of view the Peace of Paris may be regarded as offering a satisfactory solution of the Eastern Question. Russia was checked and the "sick man" was set on his legs again. But after the war there was an uneasy feeling that the result obtained were not commensurate with the heavy sacrifices involved and whatever little was accomplished was not likely to endure long. Future events justified this premonition and confirmed the view that the Crimean War was the most senseless war of the nineteenth century. Just 14 years later, Russia threw to the winds the provision concerning the neutrality of the Black Sea ; and in 1878 completely wiped away the Crimean humiliation by recovering Bessarabia. The hopes entertained of Turkey reforming herself proved deceptive and the integrity of Turkey which was sought to be bolstered up became a diplomatic fiction. Thus as a solution of the Eastern question the Treaty of Paris was a flat failure. Thirdly, it also marked the zenith of the French glory in the arena of international politics. Louis Napoleon as the leader of the victorious party was adorned with new prestige. In Paris Napoleon declared the verdict of the European diplomats for the punishment of Russia and thereby wiped out the humiliation of Napoleon Bonaparte. Fourthly, England suffered a terrible economic crisis due to this war—her national debt increased to a huge amount. Henceforth, she followed a policy of isolation in her foreign policy. She engrossed herself in her colonies outside Europe in the African, American and Far Eastern countries. And lastly,

Austria by her impolitic behaviour created an antagonist neighbour for ever by her side in the person of Russia.

Indirect Results : On the Crimean War widely different opinions may be held. But there is no doubt that this war was an important chapter in the Eastern question and a prelude to the most important political development of the 19th century. In other words, the indirect consequences of the Crimean War was far-reaching. First, the Crimean War dawned the Rumanian nationality. Serbia and Rumania henceforth were governed like autonomus states. The contest remained with Turkey but they acquired right of self-determination under international guarantee. For national interests both Austria and England had no wish to see a united Wallachia and Moldavia under the Rumanian state. But France, Prussia, Russia and Piedmont put pressure for the formation of an autonomous Rumania. Second, "Out of the mud of Crimea a new Italy was made and less obviously a new Germany." The kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont having joined the allies, was admitted to the peace conference. There Cavour, the minister of the Sardinian King, opened the Italian question before the assembled diplomats, enlisted the sympathy of the powers and won over Napoleon III to the cause of the Italian independence. Italy was liberated and the arrangement which the Congress of Vienna had made there was upset. Thirdly, it led to the regrouping of powers in the European politics. The traditional alliance between three autocratic powers broke down. So far Austria, Prussia and Russia had helped each other in face of common danger. But now furious at Austrian ingratitude Russia turned to Prussia whose friendly neutrality she appreciated. Bismarck took advantage of Russia's estrangement from Austria, and began to court the friendship of the Tsar in order to further his project of ousting Austria from Germany. The result was that Austria was completely isolated during the Austro-Prussian War that followed, Russia remaining neutral as Prussia had done previously. Austria was defeated and the German Empire that Prussia subsequently built up was largely based upon

Russian neutrality. Fourth, it also had a far-reaching consequence on France. Because this treaty marked the stepping stone of Napoleon's decline. As Russia remained neutral Bismarck was able to put a slap on the Austrian face and outwitted Louis Napoleon in the battle of Sedan, Napoleon remaining helpless. And lastly, this war also affected Russia deeply. At home it led to a series of reforms carried out by Alexander II, the most important of which was emancipation of the serfs. Abroad, it gave a new turn to Russian expansion. That expansion, checked in Europe, was transferred to Central Asia where she began to push forward with great strides. The British statesmen realised that the Russian danger was only transferred from Europe to Asia, threatening British position in India. This Russophobia led to the second Anglo-Afghan war in India. There took place the Nihilist movement in Russia which marked the prelude to the Bolshevik revolution of the 20th century.

Q. 35 (a) Trace the history of the Unification of Italy. (b) What was the contribution of England and France to the cause of Italian liberation? (c) What were the contributions made by (i) Cavour, (ii) Garibaldi, (iii) Mazzini and (iv) Victor Emmanuel II to the success of the Italian movement for its unification and liberation? (d) What were the obstacles to Italian unity in the 19th century? How were they overcome? (e) "Italy as a nation is the legacy and life-work of Cavour. "Cavour left a name to point a moral and adorn a tale"—Lord Palmerstone. Estimate in the light of these remarks the statesmanship of Cavour.

N. B. The revolution of 1848 and after in Italy.

[As to the History of Italy before 1848 see question no. 28]

The uprisings in Italy in 1841 failed for several reasons. First, the military might of Austria was demonstrated to be still stronger than the Italian revolutionaries. In 1849 this was reinforced by a French intervention against the Revolution. Secondly, the church had come out openly against the revolutionaries and this had a great influence on the

backward masses. Thirdly, the Italian government except Sardinia betrayed the war of liberation and withdrew from the struggle. Fourthly, there was distrust and mutual suspicion between the Mazzinian radicals and moderate liberals.

But in spite of the failure, 1848 had given a great stimulus to Italian regeneration. First, the revolution had been so near to success that it seemed likely that the next attempt might easily lead to triumph. Secondly, the House of Savoy had at least identified itself with the national cause. Charles Albert had openly adopted the policy of liberation culminating in the Statutes of March 1848. He had also risked his throne by war against Austria. After the defeat of Novarra he even abdicated, a gesture deeply appreciated by the Italians. His successor Victor Emmanuell II continued his father's policy and refused to withdraw the constitution at Austrian pressure. Thirdly, the experience of the failure brought about a sense of greater realism, in the camp of the revolutionaries. Many of the Mazzinians notably Daniel Manin now began to think that the dogmatic insistence on a republic and on self-help alone might not be carried too far. They began to turn to the idea of a compromise with the moderate liberals under the banner of the Savoy.

It was in this changed atmosphere that the leadership of the Italian movement began to pass to the eminent citizen of Sardinia, Cavour. His early life before 1852 was a preparation for his life's work. A liberal from the beginning Cavour had ruined his military career for the sake of his political principles. (1) He turned then to develop his estates on modern lines and gave an example to others in the adoption of scientific methods like irrigation, use of fertilisers and the introduction of machinery. (2) Cavour also took a great interest in the plans for the economic development of all Italy illustrated by his advocacy of railway construction to link up different parts of the country. (3) He also spent much time in England and France carefully studying the parliamentary governments in advanced countries. (4) During the 1848 upheaval he conducted the

volunteers of Ill Resorgimento and expanded a moderate liberal programme for Italy's salvation. (5) Finally he entered politics as a member of the parliament created by the Statutes and became a minister in 1850 and the Head of the Government in 1852.

In his early career upto 1852 Cavour had worked out a programme of his own for unification and liberation of Italy (1) His idea was to bring this about under the leadership of the House of Savoy as he thought the Mazzinian Republic was too difficult to accomplish and likely to arouse opposition from Europe. He was also convinced that Mazzini's slogan of a revolution by the people was too difficult to accomplish and hence realism indicated the necessity of seeking foreign help. (2) Since Austria was the main enemy this would mean courting French and English help against Austria through clever diplomacy. Finally Cavour thought that the (3) new Italy should be organised as a liberal constitutional monarchy, carefully avoiding the entangling alliances. His ideas, therefore, were moderate and realistic but not above criticism. Many Mazzinians sincerely felt that this was whittling down the glorious traditions of the Italian Revolution. In particular the reliance on foreign help was a double-edged belt and might replace one foreign domination by another. Excessive reliance on foreign moral support and financial or economic backing is also humiliating to the national cause. This monarchical ideas would also prevent any real political or social change in Italy and was likely to disappoint the generous nature of a new life roused by the Risorgimento. Moreover, Cavour had a genuine distrust towards the popular agitations. But the peoples movements in the center Italy and the Garibaldian attack on Naples saved the destiny of the nation after the treaty of Villa France was concluded. Cavour had to resign and no foreign help was forth coming. Nodoubt, the danger of republicanism provoked by the mazzinians alienated a large section of the population from the national cause but Cavour's diplomacy was not also above criticism. It is, therefore, difficult to categorically condemn

the ideas of either Cavour or Mazzini about Italian Emancipation, but one has to recognise the difference between moderate liberalism and radical democracy on this issue as in others.

(1) As Prime Minister of Sardinia Cavour began with the economic regeneration of the state, as he felt that only by making Sardinia a model state he would be able to rally all Italy under his government. He, therefore, encouraged scientific culture, the development of industries, the growth of commerce through trade treaties, the organization of modern system of communication by roads, railways etc, a programme of public works and educational reforms. The material prosperity soon attracted notice and Cavour even took some risk by lavish expenditure on works of development.

(2) The second point in Cavour's programme was to build up military power. He soon created an army too heavy for a small country but quite adequate for the task ahead. But this was with the object of fighting Austria for Italian liberation.

(3) Cavour adopted and extended the policy of liberal constitutional government for his state on Anglo-French model. This was called in Italy Connubium or marriage between the House of Savoy and liberalism.

(4) Cavour adopted a new religious policy expressed in his own phrase—a free church in a free state. This meant—no state interference in religious affairs so long as the church confined itself to strictly religious and spiritual activities. But the church must not encroach on political matters which must be left entirely to the discretion of the state. Following this policy Cavour seized and confiscated much of the monastic properties in the country which he thought unnecessary for the proper work of the church.

5. While building up Sardinia on these new lines Cavour steadily established links with the liberals all over Italy. Sardinia became an asylum for political refugees from every part of Italy. Cavour encouraged the formation of National Societies all over Italy to co-ordinate liberal pro-

paganda and activity. Step by step moderate Mazzinians disheartened by 1848-49 began to be drawn into this society. Foremost among them was Manin, the hero of Venice in 1848.

6. While strengthening the state Cavour was on the look out for winning friends abroad. In January 1855 he went out of his way to intervene in the Crimean war and help England and France at a critical moment. This was to win the goodwill of the two liberal powers and also to give some practical experiences in modern fighting to the Sardinian army.

7. At the end of the war Cavour secured Sardinia's admission to the Paris Peace Congress in 1856. He persuaded Napoleon III to raise the question of Italian unrest at the conference and seized the opportunity of publicly asserting that the trouble in Italy would never end while Austria dominated the country. At Paris Cavour also secured the moral support of the English government which protested against misrule in Naples and the neighbouring states.

But Cavour knew that inspite of the enthusiasm of English public opinion for Italy the English government especially after the Crimean war would embark on no foreign adventure. Just the opposite was the policy of Napoleon always anxious to win glory to placate his cheated subjects and almost pledged to a revision of the 1815 treaties. Cavour realised the difference in the position of the two powers and set about to win the French alliance. After Orsini's attempt on Napoleon's life Cavour seized the opportunity of approaching him and after a meeting he secured the secret Pact of Plombiers, 1853. The subsequent successes hardly deny that Cavour pursued a risky policy at Plombiers. By the Pact it was agreed that France would help Sardinia in any war against Austria and expel Austria from Italy. Italy was then to be federated under the Pope and would consist of four states, namely Sardinia enlarged into a north Italian kingdom, a central Italian kingdom under Louis Napoleon, the Papal states and the Kingdom of Naples.

Napoleon would get as reward Savoy and Nice which would give him the neutral frontier of the Alps. Needless to say, Cavour was playing a gamblers' game and luckily for him the projected settlement was never realised.

French help was now assured but only on condition that the war against Austria could be presented to Europe as a defensive war. His next step was, therefore, to provoke Austria to take the offensive. With super diplomacy he managed to goad Austria into issuing an ultimatum which justified in the European eyes the Sardinian war against Austria.

The war in 1859 ended in two severe defeats for Austria ; Magenta and Solferino. The Austrians were pushed out of Lombardy and fell back on the quadrilateral and Venice. At this point, however, Napoleon III changed his policy. The bloodshed in battles unnerved him. The battles did not bring Napoleonic triumphs. The attitude of Prussia disturbed by the defeat of a Germanic power and Napoleon's ambition for the Rhine frontier was beginning to be menacing. Finally all central Italy had broken out into revolt against the native rulers including a part of Romagna.

Without consulting the Sardinians Napoleon concluded with Austria the truce of Villafranca followed by the Treaty of Zurich. Austria ceded Lombardy to Sardinia but was allowed to retain Venetia. Thus halting in the middle of the undertaking Napoleon generously renounced Savoy and Nice. But Cavour felt that everything was lost and loosing his heart resigned. Victor Emmanuel felt, on the other hand, that something was better than nothing and pocketing the insult and betrayed accepted Lombardy. The King in this situation showed himself wiser than his minister.

At this critical moment the Italian people saved the day. All over central Italy the princes had been driven out and provisional governments like that of Ricasoli in Tuscany D, Azeglio in Romagna refused to go back to the old order. A league of four such governments, viz., Tuscany, Romagna, Parma and Modena was formed and the people were armed

to resist the return of princes, Mazzinian enthusiasts playing a leading role. The obstinacy of the Central Italians prevailed. It was out of the question for Austria to intervene while Napoleon was reluctant to use force against them and Russel and Palmerston loudly supported the self-determination of the Central Italians. Ultimately a compromise was arranged by Napoleon to the effect that the Central Italians might be permitted by a plebiscite to join Sardinia—which would eliminate the danger of Mazzinian republic. This was carried out and the four states were absorbed within Sardinia. Meanwhile Cavour had returned to office and put the finishing stroke to the compromise by getting Napoleon's formal consent at the price of handing over Savoy and Nice to the permanent indignation of Garibaldi.

The next step in Italian unification was made possible by the outbreak of the Mazzinian revolt in Sicily (April, 1860). The Mazzinians organised the revolt but with the arrival of Garibaldi supported by the House of Savoy, the motive of the movement changed. Garibaldi who had made himself famous as a heroic commander of irregular patriotic forces both in 1848-49 and in 1859 was invited to head this revolt in the south. He organised an expedition of something like an international brigade called the Thousand with the Red Shirt as its emblem. Cavour while officially maintaining neutrality allowed the expedition to organise itself in Sardinian territory, permitted it to sail from the Sardinian port of Genoa and to use the Sardinian fleet to protect it from the navy of Naples. Between May and September Garibaldi liberated Sicily and proceeded to invade the mainland territory of Naples. Napoleon proposed joint intervention but Russel suspected of evil designs and said that Italy must be left to herself.

The danger now was the proclamation of a Mazzinian republic in the south and a Garibaldian attack on Rome which would lead to Napoleon III's intervention. Cavour marched his army into the papal territories and defeated the Catholic volunteers at Castelfidardo and occupied

Umbria and the Marches (September 1860). Cavour assured Napoleon that the Pope's rule would be left untouched in Rome itself and the neighbouring patrimony of St. Peter. Under this agreement Umbria and the Marches were united to Sardinia.

Victor Emmanuel next marched into Naples and in November Garibaldi resigned his dictatorship returning to private life. Naples and Sicily were united with the northern kingdom after a plebiscite. The Mazzinians saw their cherished republic faded away, but recognised the necessity of National Union. By April 1861, the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed under the House of Savoy but of course, this was Italy, minus the Austrian Venetia and the papal patrimony. Cavour died immediately afterwards.

Cavour had advocated a patient waiting for favourable opportunities and later events vindicated him. In 1866 when Prussia went to war against Austria, it concluded an alliance with Italy (April, 1866) promising Venetia in return for aid. After the defeat of Austria Venetia was thus secured. But the ill-success of Italian arms on land and sea in this war enabled Austria to retain the small Italian speaking districts of Trent, Trieste and South Tyrol. This territory claimed by Italy was henceforth called *Italia Irredenta* by the patriots and was secured after the First World War.

As for Rome the papal rule seemed secured under the military protection of Napoleon III. Moderate liberals would have accepted this as permanent if the Pope had liberalised his government in the tone of the rest of Italy. But the Pope adhered to the policy of no concession and by the Syllabus of 1864 almost declared war against all liberal ideas. The Mazzinians wanted to finish the job and Garibaldi came out of his retirement to attack Rome in 1862 and 1867. On the first occasion he was checked by the troops of Victor Emmanuel to avoid an international crisis. On the second occasion he was routed at Mantua by the new guns introduced in the French army. But the Pope's rule was doomed and the Franco-German war led to the

withdrawal of French garrison from Rome. The kingdom of Italy at once occupied Rome and the patrimony thus completing the national unification,

The Italian Unification achieved by Cavour on a sail prepared by the Risorgimento and aided at every step by the forces of Revolution was spectacular in its success but on second thought something of an anti-climax. The unification under the House of Savoy naturally ruled out much of the high hopes cherished by the Mazzinian democrats about political and social democratisation. The new kingdom was also full of troubles. The first difficulty was the obstinacy of the Pope who refused to recognise the kingdom and even urged the Catholic fanatics not to co-operate with it. Italy enacted in 1871 the Law of Guarantees assuring the Pope autonomy on his own property and a large revenue. But the Pope would not take the money and refused even to move out of his palace calling himself "the prisoner of the Vatican." Finally, the economic difficulties of the new kingdom of Italy and its poverty continued leading to a large-scale immigration to the United States. This led to the adoption of a colonial policy by the new kingdom, though the colonial adventures were not much of a success. The history of United Italy in the century after its creation provides a depressing story of stagnation and failure and is a sharp contrast to the great hopes of mid—19th century.

Q. 36. Discuss the obstacles which confronted Bismarck in the war of the unification of Germany. (b) Narrate the story of the Unification of Germany. (c) Describe the causes and consequences of the Franco-Prussian war. (d) Sketch the career and policy of Bismarck.

[N. B. For the history of Germany before 1848 see question No. 27]

Germany in and after 1848.

The resolution of 1848 failed in Germany for various reasons. First, the crisis showed the weakness of the liberal movement which was not very strongly established

and lost its grip as soon as the initial enthusiasm spent itself. Second, the liberal leaders wasted their opportunity and neglected to take power in their hands at the psychological moment of the March Days and busied themselves with abstract debates over fundamental rights of the new constitution. Thirdly, the decisive military powers remained intact in the hands of Austria and Prussia dominated by the conservative ruling class. Fourthly, a moderate liberal settlement was prevented by the famous dualism between Austria and Prussia. But the events of 1848 in the final analysis did breach the old order in at least two directions. A constitution was established in Prussia and secondly, the joint-front between Austria and Prussia built up by Metternich began to pass away.

The development after 1848 also proved to be important. First, after the failure of revolutions many of the most active and vigorous Germans joined the stream of emigration to the United States. This and the exile of many patriots still further weakened German liberalism. Secondly, the industrial capitalist development continued with a swing making more and more impossible the maintenance without change of the old regime. In the fifties, Germany witnessed a phenomenal growth of banking speculation, capital accumulation, joint-stock enterprises, intensive coal-mining, expansion of iron and rail-road construction and the introduction of scientific technique in industries. The consequent growth of capitalist class made necessary the transformation of the German state. Thirdly, parallel to the growth of industries, there was a flowering of German intellect notably in the field of natural and social sciences, philosophy, law and history. Fourthly, the liberal movement after the fiasco of 1849 began to lift up its head again and in 1859, started the propaganda of National Society in West Germany. By 1860 the progressives commanded a majority in the Prussian parliament. There also came into the picture a powerful working class movement organised partly by Lassale and partly by the friends of the famous exiles Marx and Engels. Fifthly, the consolidation of the

Prussian state continued its course in an impressive manner. The Zollverein had now united commercially nearly all Germany. The great strength of Prussia had been demonstrated in 1859 when its attitude cut short the Franco-Austrian war and by 1860 the government had started its programme of military reorganisation. All this was rousing a natural ambition in the ruling class in Prussia, the Junkers, to control and dominate Germany. Lastly the power of Austria in Germany and elsewhere was beginning to decay and the defeat in Italy in 1859 emphasised that.

In this transitional era the career of Otto Von Bismarck was unfolding itself. He was a junker and in his early life he was a stern reactionary. Thus in 1848 he opposed the revolution and advocated the Austro-Prussian united front against it. He had no faith even in constitutional liberalism of the English type. From 1851, he was Prussian representative in the Bund at Frankfurt and in the course of the next ten years his ideas underwent some important change in keeping with transition around. He realised the Austrian policy of reducing Prussia to the position of a satellite state, that Prussia would have to fight Austria for her very existence. As such a war lay in the very logic of her history. In 1862 he was made chief minister by the new Prussian king, William whose army reforms had led to dead-lock, as the progressive majority in the parliament refused to vote the necessary funds for the scheme.

Bismarck's ideas as they took shape in his mind in the ten years preceding his chief ministership is usually called "Real Politik" or realistic politics. In this he did not stand alone, but represented a section of the junker ruling class which was thinking on these lines. The industrial transformation of Germany was making more and more necessary the unification of the country under one rule and the modernisation of the state machinery. So far, however, this urge had been expressed only by the two liberal slogans of national unity and a popular constitution. 1848 had revealed the weakness of German liberalism, but it had suggested also the possibility of the coming in future of a Jacobin radi-

calism. The aim which the Real Politikers began to develop was to make the necessary changes in Germany while preventing the victory of popular liberalism and that of republicanism. This would mean a series of reforms from above which would safeguard much of the existing state of things. Historically that would be a continuation of the policy of adjusting by utilising the French reforms adopted by Stein, Humboldt and Hardenburg. Socially it would mean a compromise between the Junker ruling class in the East Germany and the middle class in the West. In simple language Bismarck wanted to unify Germany and establish a modern state under the leadership of the Prussian monarchy and keeping intact as much as possible of the position and privileges of the landed aristocracy. The great achievement of Bismarck was to find out ways and means of carrying through this new adjustment. He realised that to achieve his aims Prussia must push Austria out of Germany and unite Germany minus Austria not through a people's revolution but at the point of sword of Prussia. Thus he would end the dualism that had been the stain of German political system.

The basic difference between Italian and German unification consisted in the fact that while Italy was made by a liberal government, Germany was made by an autocratic government. To the German liberals Cavour was the ideal while Bismarck as the champion of the conservative aristocracy wanted to proceed along national but not liberal lines. German unification was to be no imitation of the Italian example.

B. *Bismarck and German Unification* :—

When William called Bismarck to office in 1862, the first task taken up by the minister was to defy the constitution and proceed with the army reform, objected to by the parliament by first collective taxes and spending money without parliamentary sanction. This policy in the 17th century England had led to the downfall of Charles I and Stafford but conditions in Prussia were utterly different when Bismarck succeeded.

The army reform doubled the military strength of Prussia. It meant the complete application of compulsory military service first introduced by Schornhast. In course of time population had increased but no financial provision was made to train all youngmen reaching the military age in a year. This gap was now removed. Bismarck's defiance of the constitution made this possible but the real authors of the army reform scheme were the ministers Von Roon, general Von Moltke and the king William.

The main task of Bismarck was not army reform but the diplomatic preparation for the achievement of his aims. His first great diplomatic stroke was the agreement with Russia in 1863, at the time of the desperate Polish revolt. The rising in Poland attracted much sympathy from England, France and even Prussia but the Prussian government openly condemned the revolt and they cooperated with Russia to put down the revolt, supporting joint action against the common danger of revolution. Bismarck thus won the goodwill of Russia which was of enormous value to him for the next twelve years. Herein lies the difference between Bismarck and Cavour. When Cavour sought foreign help in men and money as well as moral support Bismarck was satisfied in first isolating Austria and then France by diplomatic manoeuvring.

The next step in Bismarck's career was the intervention in Denmark, 1863-1864. The two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were united with Denmark by a personal union since the 15th century. When the Danish crown passed to all heir by female succession, the Germans in the Duchies argued that the Salic law applied to the Duchies and ruled out such succession. The German party wanted to erect the Duchies into a new state under the Duke of Augustenburg and make the state a member of the German Bund. The Danish government was trying, on the other hand, to incorporate the Duchies integrally into Denmark. At this point Bismarck persuaded Austria to intervene in pursuit of a middle path between the aims of Denmark and the Bund. He upheld the London Protocol

of 1852, an agreement of the great Powers to recognise the rule of the new Danish king over the Duchies on condition that they were not incorporated in Denmark. But the real object of Bismarck in this intervention was to force a war on the Danes and thus seize the Duchies for himself as he already coveted the great port of Kiel. By a drastic ultimatum, he forced war on Denmark and the Duchies were occupied and Denmark was forced to give them help. The Bund was not allowed to take over the new territory which remained under Austro-Prussian control, pending final settlement.

In this handling of the question of Duchies, which Bismarck regarded as his diplomatic masterpiece he had a second object in view, namely, to test whether England would intervene in any continental dispute when the English remained inactive. Bismarck was satisfied that he could go ahead with his plans without any anxiety about English interference.

Bismarck in the Danish question had utilised Austria both in fighting Denmark and in denying the Duchies to the German Bund. But he had an ulterior object also, namely, to provoke Austria into a struggle which he thought necessary for his aim of pushing Austria out of Germany. But the time for this had not come yet, and the Prussian king still shrank from an open struggle against Austria which would be almost a German civil war. Therefore, Bismarck had to compromise in the Treaty of Gastein in 1865 which placed one Duchy under Prussia and the other under Austria and "papered the crack" i.e., it was a move merely to gain time and solved nothing.

Bismarck now proceeded with a diplomatic game to isolate Austria in the conflict which he thought inevitable. He had already secured Russian goodwill and satisfied himself about English neutrality. Now he met Napoleon III at Biarritz and had an informal understanding with him assuring French neutrality in return for some vague hopes of territorial compensation. Next in April 1866, he won

the Italian alliance with a promise of securing Venetia to Italy in the coming war.

The way was now clear for a conflict. In June 1866, Bismarck proposed a reform of the Bund with the outstanding proposal of setting up a parliament to be elected by universal suffrage. The Prussian scheme was vetoed by Austria, which countered to the acquisition of Prussian designs on Schleswig and Holstein. When the Austrian majority in the Bund condemned Prussia, Bismarck took this as the signal for war. He had at last achieved his purpose of fighting out an armed conflict with Austria.

In the Austro-Prussian or Seven Weeks' War in 1866 Prussia had Italy as an ally while Austria was approved only by the secondary German states. The Prussian military triumph was, of course, not due to Bismarck but to Von Moltke and the military chiefs responsible for the quick organisation, the first modern utilisation of railways and the employment of the quick-firing needle guns. The Prussian army overran the allied German states of Austria and overwhelmed the Austrians at Sadowa and Koniggratz.

The Prussian militarists wanted to finish Austria and to enter Vienna in triumph, But Bismarck put his foot down and insisted on an immediate peace with Austria on generous terms because he already planned to secure Austrian goodwill for the future. The Peace of Prague, therefore, only took away Venetia from Austria for Italy and provided merely for the dissolution of the Bund and the creation of a North German Confederation, north of the river Mainz under Prussian presidency. By the same Peace, however, Prussia acquired an extensive territory annexing Schleswig-Holstein, the kingdom of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau—the continuous belt of land running North to South and uniting Brandenburg with the Prussian Rhineland. For the first time Prussia had become a compact state. In contrast to Italian precedent the annexation was not submitted to any plebiscite.

The North German Confederation was organised with the enlarged Prussia and twenty-two other small German

states. The Prussian king was the hereditary President with the unified control over all others. A parliament was created for the whole Confederation with two Houses. The upper, the Bundestaadt, consisted of the representatives of the states. Prussia being allotted almost half the seats. The lower house, Reichstag was to be elected by universal suffrage but was really a lower house with less power than the upper. The executive power was concentrated in the hands of a Chancellor practically irresponsible and his associates, appointed by the President. Universal suffrage under this constitution was more a show than a reality and was yet another example of the manipulation of the idea of popular sovereignty. It is also noticeable that for the Prussian territory, the Prussian constitution with its weightage for the rich remained intact. This constitution was later extended to the German Empire when it was formed.

In spite of the sham democracy in Bismarck's new constitution, the close union of north and central Germany and universal suffrage, were startling innovations, coming from Bismarck. The German liberals were overwhelmed by these liberal measures of Bismarck which led to a split into two parties—the progressives still suspicious of Bismarck and the National Liberals rallying round him with the help of the latter. Bismarck now secured from the Prussian Parliament an Act of Indemnity formally condoning his previous violation of the Constitution. Incidentally, this was like a moral downfall of the German liberals and the political role of opposition to Bismarck's system began to pass to the German socialists.

Organising the Northern Confederation Bismarck left out the Southern German states to reassure Austria and France. But by favourite diplomacy, he secured military agreements with the South German states as well as tariff or economic agreements. The South German states were thus persuaded, as Bismarck informed them of a casual French proposal to find compensation in the South Germany which aroused anti-French suspicions in the South. This understanding proved of very great use in the Franco-German war.

In the North German Confederation, Bismarck as Chancellor went ahead with economic legislation encouraging the rapid capitalist growth of the new union. Complete freedom of movement, uniformity of measures and currency, scientific training, encouragement to industry, labour legislation, development of communication etc. gave a tremendous impetus to the industry, the wealth and the economic strength of what was already a new Germany.

But South Germany, still remained outside and the French government was becoming hostile. Bismarck felt that the security of the new Germany required the annexation of the south though not of Austria and that a war with France, lay in the logic of history. He proceeded to isolate France, as he had isolated Austria before. He could still count on Russia and had great friend in Austria. Italy was separated from France by the Roman question and England was negligent. Therefore, Bismarck could go ahead and provoke war with France, the more so because he was convinced that the Second Empire was already a moth-eaten institution.

The chance came over the Spanish succession question. The Spaniards having set aside the Bourbon dynasty wanted a new king and Bismarck persuaded a Hohenzollern to accept the offer of the Spanish crown. Now the French protest led to the withdrawal of the candidature. The French government sent its ambassador to the Prussian king at Elms to demand that the Hohenzollern candidature should not be renewed. King William refused the request. When he telegraphed to Bismarck the news of this interview (Elms telegraph), Bismarck published this telegram with certain omissions. The edited message convinced Frenchmen that their ambassador had been subjected to discourtesy. As Bismarck calculated, this was sufficient in the tension existing to bring about a war.

In the Franco-German war, 1870-71, the North German army, reinforced by the Southern Germans repeated their triumph of 1866. One French army was bottled down at Metz and later forced to surrender. The other at Sedan

was forced to capitulate along with the Emperor. But the city of Paris rose to heights of glory by a six months' resistance to the invaders. This, however, could not prevent defeat and submission of France.

In 1871 Bismarck imposed on France, the Treaty of Frankfurt, quite different in spirit, from the Peace with Austria. The economically and strategically important provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were torn away from France without any plebiscite. This was to strengthen the German frontier and to strengthen German capitalism with the mineral wealth of the area. France was also subjected to an unheard-of heavy war-indemnity. The Treaty also provided for an admission of the South German states to the German confederation which was now proclaimed as the German Empire with a Prussian king as the hereditary Emperor. This was the completion of German unification though it may be added that the New Germany excluded German Austria, included Western Poland.

In course of the Franco-German war Bismarck secured English neutrality by the publication of the French designs of Belgium encouraged Italy to occupy Rome and he allowed Russia to violate the Treaty of Paris by ending the neutralization of the Black Sea. Thus all along the time, Bismarck followed the policy of a 'real politik' which subordinated minor things to the major purpose of unification for the time being without any scruple.

Q. 37. (a) "Prince Metternich is regarded as the incarnation of spirit of the restoration and reaction." Why ?

(b) Why is the period between 1815 and 1848 in Europe called the Age of Metternich ? Describe the main features of the political and diplomatic system which prevailed in the continent at that time.

Early life :

Metternich became the chief minister of Austria in 1809 and maintained his position for nearly forty years. During the final stage of the Napoleonic wars he had given

to Austrian policy that "vigorous and certain direction which enabled him afterwards to boast himself as the conqueror of Napoleon." His hatred of Napoleon was conditioned by his fear of Russian aggrandisement in the event of the French Emperor's downfall. So his policy from 1810 to 1813 was to play off Napoleon and the Czar against each other. Thus he struck up "entente cordiale" with England. Austrian intervention proved to be the decisive factor in the battle of Leipzig appropriately called the Battle of Nations (1813) and in the campaign that followed. Under his presidency the Vienna Congress was called on to reconstruct the political map of Europe.

The gradual rise in power of Metternich in the European politics is significantly expressed by the phrase "Age of Metternich" which is appropriately applied to the period from 1815 to 1848. In the Vienna Settlement he succeeded in following three principles. First, he wanted to check the territorial thirst of France which manifested itself during the Napoleonic wars. Second, he wanted to check the dangerous French ideas which were released by the French Revolution and lastly to resettle the map of Europe ensuring the Austrian domination in the continent and maintaining pre-revolutionary conditions as far as possible. Thus his diplomacy at the Congress of Vienna was rewarded by the accession of Lombardy, Venice and Dalmatia to the Austrian dominions. He made Austrian influence predominant in Germany and Italy, in the one by means of the Federal Diet and in the other by Austrian bayonets. This gradual ascendancy of Metternich in the European politics in the next few years was due firstly to death of his diplomatic rivals, such as Castlereagh of England, Alexander of Russia and others. Secondly, he obtained unstinted support of the conservative ruling class whose class-interest he represented. This was partly due to his (1) unrivalled diplomatic skill ; (2) sublime self-assurance and (3) consistent resoluteness for maintaining status quo. That was why Housser calls it "a conservative policy rather than reactionary."

After 1815 Metternich followed two fundamental principles. Austria was once the centre of European politics and rivalry between Austria and France, between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons was the keynote of European policy. Therefore his first principle was to maintain the primacy of Austria. Secondly, he wanted to drive back France to its cell, to wipe out the French ideas and to maintain status quo. He had two means to follow, one repression at home by which all revolutionary aspirations might be rooted out on the point of bayonets and secondly, by intervention abroad. By the systematic policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states all revolutionary upsurges might be nipped in their buds. Therefore, the main objective in this policy was to ensure the Austrian primacy in the continent which means, in other words, the perpetuation of the status quo and strong opposition to liberalism. But the main limitation of his character was his refusal to recognise the Austria's inner rottenness in the existing fabric. Moreover, he failed to adjust his policy according to the changed circumstances and lastly, he saw only the destructive side of the revolution. Thus when Austria could be saved by liberal constitutional grace he set his face against all liberal measures. But he had one justification in his favour. Austrian primacy to him meant Austria's leadership with the perpetuation of its existing fabric. But the Napoleonic era had shook that position to its foundation and brought about the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire. That was why the policy of status quo was followed.

[N. B—Here you are to add his Austrian, German, Italian, European and the near Eastern policy and estimate his success and failure. That means, you are to summarise the answers of the questions numbering 38, 39, 40 and then you are to add an estimate of his character which was given in the answer to Question no. 41.]

Q. 38. (a) "From 1815 to 1848 the Austrian Empire was conspicuously lacking in unity, social or political" :— How far the statement is correct? (b) What was Metternich's system? How far Metternich was successful in his home-front? (c) What were the consequences of the Revolution of 1848 in the Austrian Empire? Account for the failure of the Revolution?

[N. B. Add an introduction taking necessary points from the answer to question no. 37]

From 1815 to 1848 Metternich resolutely followed his policy in Austria, in Germany and Italy and in Europe as a whole. But in Austria he was confronted with two-fold problems. First, national discontent. In the Austrian Empire many peoples were agitating with racial and national discontent. As for enumeration (i) Austria was dominated by the German population. (ii) Hungary by the Magyars and the Slavs, (iii) Bohemia by the Czechs; (iv) Galicia by the Poles and the Routhenians; (v) Slovakia by the Slovaks; (vi) Croatia by the Croates; (vii) Transylvania by the Rumanians and there were the Italians in Italy. Again, this national discontent joined hands with mutual jealousy between different races and linguistic groups. Metternich had to be confronted with another socio-economic problem. There was also the social problem in those territories. In the Empire feudalism persisted in a rotten state with its attendant evils. With the growth of industry a middle-class movement emerged for sweeping out remnants of feudalism. As an impact of the French Revolution the newly rising bourgeoisie demanded political equality.

Thus following the policy of immobility in order to perpetuate the existing conditions and to fight out all forces of change Metternich sent the Hungarian regiments and officials in Italy and the Italian regiments were ordered to guard Austrian Poland. Secondly, to prevent the infection of liberal ideas a wall of tariff and censors was erected around Austrian lands. (iii) To guard against the peril of incipient liberalism at home, Metternich set up an elabo-

rate system of espionage and (iv) a vigilant censorship of the press. (v) The universities were also subjected to rigid regulations and the courses of study strictly prescribed by the government. Thus for the time being Austria was hermetically sealed against the liberal thought of Europe. In this policy Metternich was backed by (i) traditional loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty ; (ii) by the bond of union with the Catholic church—these two sentiments which the Austrian people felt still then. Another favourable factor was the nascent state of nationalism. Upto 1830 Metternich was uniformly successful and the fateful year 1830 passed with sporadic outbreaks. But due to the gradual industrialization of Austria a new middle and labour class people came to the forefront.

First, The Magyars kept on an insistent agitation for the recognition of their national claims and secured the substitution of their own language for Latin as the official language of Hungary. Despite the censorship of the press a young Magyar lawyer, Kossuth, began to publish a newspaper in the Magyar tongue to awaken political consciousness of the people. Deak sponsored a movement for liberal reform. This movement had three aspects : (1) A liberal demand for a constitution and autonomy for Hungary with the abolition of feudalism; (2) Szechney's demand for economic regeneration of Hungary and (3) also a radical demand for political and economic equality. Kossuth was a revolutionary but Deak was the constitutionalist of the English type. Moreover, Deak had a weak sentiment for the Habsburg monarchy and did not want exclusive Magyarisation of Hungary.

Second, In Bohemia the Czechs revived the study of their language and history and appealed to the other Slav peoples of the Empire to recognise their common kinship. The Central government somewhat short-sightedly encouraged the revival of national languages in order to divert men's attention away from politics the linguistics. But the philological societies only became a cover for nationalist propaganda. The peasants in the provinces

began to raise their voices against the burdensome feudal services which the aristocracy still demanded of them.

The first agrarian discontent found expression in Galicia in 1846. The rising was eventually put down and Cracow was seized by Austria and absorbed into the Empire. 1848 came in Austria with a tremendous wave of revolution. There were five chief movements in the Austrian dominions. The "many-tongued empire with its Habsburg monarchy, the main prop and bulwark of absolutism and privilege, tottered to its fall."

(1) The popular insurrection first broke out in the capital, Vienna. The movement was partly popular and partly intellectual and its aim was predominantly democratic. Metternich fled to England. The old Regime came to an end. Vienna surrendered in the hands of the students-citizens. The national assembly met in Innsbruck and uneasy King Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his son Joseph I.

(2) The second movement which affected the Austrian Empire was the uprising of the people in Milan and Venice. The Austrian garrisons were driven out and Austria faced a war of Italian liberation led by Charles Albert, king of Sardinia-Piedmont. The movement was national in relation to Austria.

(3) The centre of the third movement was Prague, the capital of Bohemia. The Czechs rose in revolt demanding legal equality with the Germans and autonomy and a constitution. The movement was nationalist and distinctly anti-German and Austrian Empire tacitly recognised their government. A pan-slav congress was summoned at Prague with the avowed object of uniting the western Slav races opposing any scheme of merging Bohemia in all German state.

(4) The fourth movement had its headquarters at Budapest in Hungary. This Magyar movement aimed at national autonomy and constitutional government. Led by Kossuth, they demanded a separate parliamentary government, liberal reforms and attachment to the Habsburg empire by a personal bond. The Hungarians in their Diet abolished

feudalism and privileges, introduced trial by jury, freedom of the press and religious liberty by the famous "March laws." But the Hungarian movement was intensely and exclusively a nationalist movement as they passionately refused to recognise the national self-expression of the Croats and the Serbs within the Hungarian borders.

(5) And lastly, as a consequence, an anti-Hungarian revolutionary movement was inaugurated at Agram in Illyria with the object to unite the Croat, the Slovenes and the Serbs in a general resistance to the Magyarisation policy of Kossuth. The Croatian Diet under the leadership of Ban Jellacic set the Magyar government at defiance. The civil war between these two peoples began jeopardising interests of both.

(1) The government, shocked at first, repelled the movement following the policy of divide et impera, (2) Taking advantage of the Civil War between the Czechs and the Germans in Bohemia Windischgratz was able to win its way into Prague and to disperse the riotous Slavs. (3) The premature attempt at the liberation of Italy collapsed after the defeat of the Sardinian king at Custozza. (4) The movement of Vienna was also weakened by internal strife and Windischgratz was able to crush the revolution. And lastly, supporting the cause of Ban Jellacic and the Croat population the Austrian army entered the field of Hungary. Kossuth put up a splendid fight declaring the Hungarian independence. Being afraid of a Polish insurrection Czar Nicholas I became restive. At the request of the Emperor he came to the rescue of Austria and outnumbered the Hungarians with overwhelming Russian troops. The civil dissension paralysed the resistance of the Magyars. Kossuth was outlawed and fled to Turkey. The Hungarian constitution was abolished and the rebellious Magyars were punished with ruthless cruelty.

Austria was saved from the extremity of her crisis firstly by the loyalty of her soldiers who remained attached to the cause of the Emperor. Secondly, the multiplicity of the component races and their diverse aspirations prevented

concerted action and gave rise to dissensions and jealousies. Thirdly, the movements collapsed also due to the valuable Russian help of the Tsarist army when the Austrian army was fighting desperately in many fronts a losing battle. And lastly, the main cause probably of the collapse was the nascent and so weak state of the bourgeoisie class-consciousness.

Q. 39. (a) Narrate the history of German liberalism from 1815 to 1848. (b) What part was played by Metternich to suppress liberalism with what results? (c) What was the consequence of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany and why did it fail?

[N. B. Add an introduction taking necessary points from the answer to question No. 37]

Metternich followed his policy of immobility in Germany guided by two fundamental aims. First, he wanted to preserve the hegemony of the Austrian empire in Germany and secondly Metternich wanted to fight out the revolutionary ideas released by the French Revolution and thus to maintain status quo. But spectacular changes occurred in Germany during the Napoleonic regime. First, it witnessed the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire. Second, it also saw the fall of the temporal power of the church and completion of the secularisation. Thirdly, there was also fall of the free cities except four which snatched away great power of self-government in the medieval period from the trembling emperors. Fourthly, the fall of the Empire also signalled the suppression of the imperial knights and their fiefs. They were the armed-followers of the Emperor. Fifthly, the map of Germany was simplified by reduction of the number of states to about forty. Sixthly, naturally this simplification of the political map of Germany involved redistribution of territories with a view to strengthen the secondary states. Seventhly, during the Napoleonic regime there also took place the introduction of the French reforms, such as, abolition of serfdom, trial by jury, reli-

gious toleration and application of the Code Napoleon which stood for systematisation of the Continental laws both civil and criminal. And lastly there was also the consequent emergence of German liberalism. From 1807 onwards there was spectacular phenomena of the rising tide of liberalism and nationalism and a desire of the German national unity. Following two fundamental objectives Metternich proceeded to combat them.

The Congress of Vienna and the reactionary attitude of the restored princes, had dashed all nationalist aspirations to the ground. Instead of giving unity to Germany Metternich organised it as a loose confederation of thirty-nine sovereign states and thereby perpetuated the old local divisions. The affairs of the German Confederation were to be regulated by a Federal Diet under the presidency of Austria. But by this time Austria's interest lay mostly outside of Germany, and so to make her the President of the Diet was really an outrage upon the national sentiment. The Diet was composed of two bodies permanently called the Ordinary assembly, perpetually in session at Frankfurt with 17 members to deliberate over general questions of Germany. But the questions of greater importance were decided by the Plenum with 69 votes and 2/3 majority was necessary to arrive at a decision. But here concerted action was paralysed by the jealous particularism of the smaller states, which Austria deliberately fostered in order to maintain her own supremacy. The result of this disunion was to make Austria the arbitrar of the fate of Germany and Metternich took its fullest opportunity. Moreover, we can also mention at least three facts of importance which definitely assured Metternich's position of pre-eminence in Germany. First, the opportunity for Prussian leadership had gone with the rejection of the Prussian proposal for a commercial union and a common army. (2) Moreover, her king Frederick William III, fell under the influence of Metternich and became a convert to his reactionary policy. (3) In the article XII of the Federal Act it was declared that the member-states would

be obliged to grant constitutions to their peoples in due course. But nothing was said about the nature of the constitution or the time limit of the grant

Therefore, liberal constitutional and nationalist movements found expression through three channels. First, popular demand for granting constitutions and the south German states like Saxe-Weimer, Hesse-Cassel, Baden etc. came forward to grant constitutions to their subjects, appointed enquiry commissions and in some cases the quarrel between the ruler and the legislature brought dead-lock in the constitution, Second, agitation in the press. With the growth of an intellectual bourgeoisie the popular agitation found expression in the press, mainly in the Rhenish territories, The rulers attempted to ban the liberty of press and thus the Rhenish Mercury was suppressed in 1816. Third, student movement. The Universities were the chief centres of disaffection. The students helped by their professors formed an association (Burschenschaft) to keep alive national and democratic ideas. They held a festival at Wartburg to commemorate the battle of Leipzig and the Reformation. They killed Kotzebue, a journalist suspecting him as a Russian spy.

These occurrences played into the hands of Metternich who magnified them as a revolutionary conspiracy and took opportunity at Toplitz to preach sermons to the Prussian king and the German princes on the revolutionary danger of liberalism,

Second, he arranged a conference of chosen German princes at Carlsbad (1819) where it was agreed to suppress liberal movements by (1) suppressing Burschenschaft ; (2) a special commission was set up at Mainz and (3) a secret police force was organised. (4) The press was put under strict censorship, (5) the Universities were placed under Government control and (6) the student societies were suppressed.

Thirdly, the Carlsbad Decree was confirmed in the German Bund and this signalled the supreme position of Metternich in the German politics.

Fourthly, he held a conference at Vienna, the precursor

of the Troppau Protocol which enshrined the policy of intervention in any state to suppress liberalism.

Fifthly, perceiving some opposition from some smaller states Metternich decided to win them over by 1822. Under his persuasion king of Wurtemberg dismissed Wangenheim. Minister Zentner of Bavaria was converted to reactionary principles and Hardenberg of Prussia died in 1822.

Sixthly, the crowning act of Metternich was to persuade the Diet (1) to make the Carlsbad Decrees permanent and (2) to suppress the publicity of the discussions in the Diet in 1824.

The movements of 1830 were purely constitutional and except in Saxony, Bavaria and Prussia in the southern states liberals extorted liberal constitutions from their rulers. Metternich succeeded in issuing another series of regulations in 1832 and 1834. (1) Princes were empowered to reject petitions of the assemblies; (2) Assemblies were deprived much of their control over finance and taxation; (3) An authority was set up to watch over legislative assemblies and empowered to reject liberal enactments.

With the triumph of reaction from 1830 onwards four spectacular changes occurred in Germany to make Prussia her supreme leader and constitutional trend took garb of German unity. The movement for constitution now definitely aimed at establishing German unity. First, gradual strengthening of Prussia as a result of a series of administrative reforms undertaken by its ministers. Secondly consequently, Prussia and the Rhenish territories in particular became rapidly industrialised strengthening the force of nationalism. Thirdly, in 1818 on the initiative of Prussia was established a customs union or Zollverein by which Prussia and the neighbouring states were included under one economic system based upon free-trade removing their respective tariff walls and thus came to have a common fiscal policy. By 1850 nearly all the States of Germany except Austria joined the Zollverein and Prussia found herself at the head of a comprehensive economic union. The political value of the solidarity of the economic inte-

rests of the German States was very great. It turned men's mind away from Austria to Prussia and constituted a real preparation for German unity under Prussian leadership. Commercial union paved the way for political unification. And lastly, in Germany the Napoleonic wars were followed by a vigorous outburst of literary activities. Poets, philosophers and historians extolled the idea of German unity and the historical role of the Teutonic race. The two great leaders of this intellectual revival were Fichte and Hegel. They gave expression to the sentiment of Pan-Germanism and championed the Prussian monarchy. Moreover, at this time powerful socialist agitation sprang up under Marx and his famous associate Engels, which aimed at uniting the working class people in Germany and all over the world.

Being excited by liberal movements William IV of Prussia issued a proclamation by which he promised to assume the leadership of the national movement and even agreed to merge Prussia in Germany. Thus in 1848 four steps were taken for realising unsuccessfully the German unity. First the enthusiastic German liberals called Vorparliament at Frankfort in 1848. The members were elected by universal suffrage for drawing up a constitution for the united Germany. With great deliberations the Constitution as framed by the German parliament provided for a single hereditary emperor to rule over all Germany and a legislature of two Houses. The crown was offered to Frederick William IV but he refused the "Crown of shame" first because it might lead to a war with Austria and secondly, he disliked to accept crown from a revolutionary assembly.

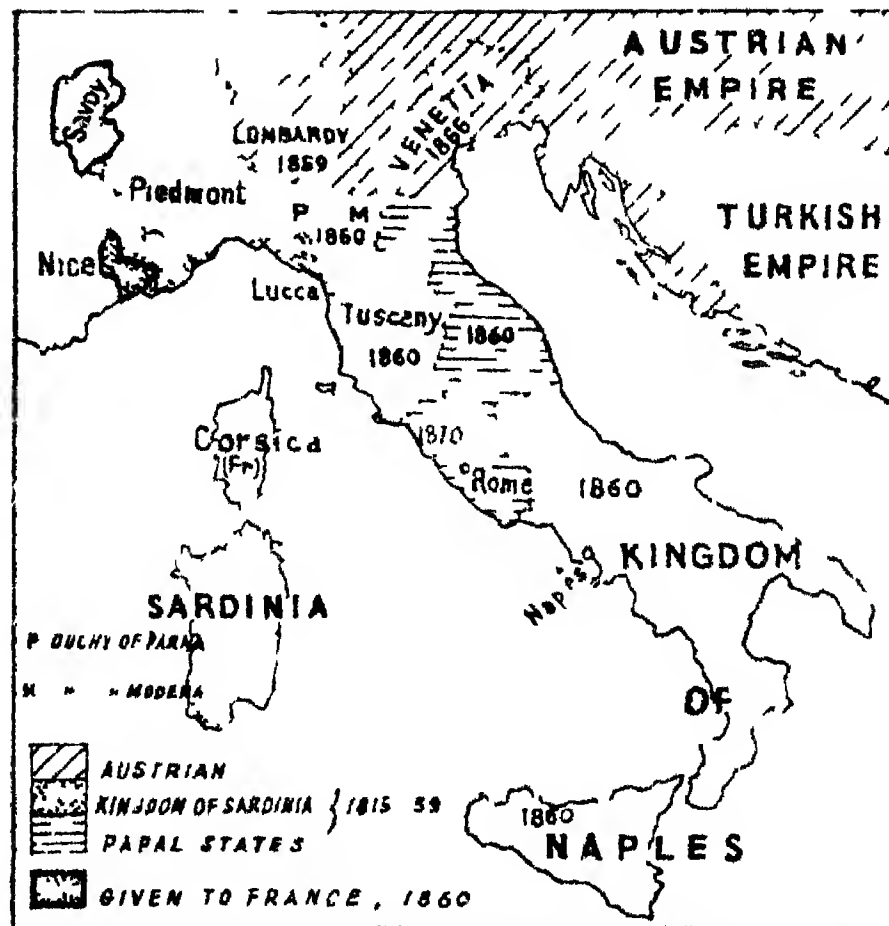
Second, Refusal of the Prussian king to accept the crown completely undid the work of the Frankfort Parliament. Many of the states refused to accept the constitution. The extreme section of the liberals excited revolts but these were put down by the Prussian troops. The Diet was dismissed by the Prussian king but he offered to the Prussian people a liberal constitution. Therefore thirdly, the Prussian king carried into effect a union of the

purely German states and established a Federal Parliament at Erfurt with himself as its president excluding Austria from Germany and receiving most of the smaller German states. But in the last stage, Austria having recovered from the revolutionary shocks, refused to be edged out of Germany and forced the Prussian king to abandon his schemes by the Convention of Olmutz in 1850. Austria then revived the Bundestag, the old German Confederation of 1815 and effectually postponed all plans of German unity marking the depth of Prussian humiliation.

Q. 40. (a) Discuss the history of the Italian Liberation from 1815 to 1848. (b) Discuss what do you know of the Carbonari movement and why did it fail? (c) What part was played by Mazzini in the war of Italian liberation? (d) Do you think Mazzini's Young Italy movement was solely responsible for the Italian Unification? (e) How far Metternich was successful in suppressing the Italian liberation movement?

[N. B. Add an introduction taking necessary points from answer to the question No. 37)

Metternich's policy of reaction was also directed towards Italy. Metternich's penetration in the Italian politics was guided by three fundamental objectives: First, he wanted to weaken Italy making her merely a geographical expression. Second, he also wanted to ensure the traditional supremacy of Austria in the Italian peninsula and, therefore, for the second point it was necessary for him, thirdly, to check the liberal movements released by the French Revolution which were aiming at Italian unity and liberalism. This could effectively be done if Italy was weakened by making her a geographical expression. Metternich could also expect success of his plans by the backing of some favourable conditions. First, in the Northern Italy Austria was the traditional ruler. Secondly, moreover, the Italians had a sentimental attachment for the Holy Roman Empire. Thirdly, Since the days of Charlemagne the Italians were



THE GROWTH OF ITALY.

habituated with foreign domination and naturally this gave rise to disunity within the peninsula. It was the traditional policy of the foreign rulers to perpetuate division among the ruled. And lastly, Metternich had unique opportunity of suppressing revolutionary aspirations due to nascent state of nationalism and liberalism.

But Metternich had to encounter a serious menace in the Napoleonic legacy which can be catalogued under four heads. First, great changes in the administrative and legal fields took place due to introduction of the Code Napoleon, religious toleration, civil liberty, abolition of privileges etc. Secondly, Military and administrative machinery was modernised and many innovations took place for efficiency. Thirdly, the creation of the kingdom of Italy raised political aspirations in the Italian mind for Italian unity. Fourthly, there was also temporary removal of all the three obstacles retarding Italian unity. First, Austrian domination in the northern Italy and abolition of her sphere of influence over the peninsula. Second, there was also the removal of the temporal power of the Papacy in Central Italy and a natural apathy towards the Catholic religion strengthened in the Italian mind and thirdly, small principalities which were the sources of weakness were also removed. In a word, the Napoleonic regime offered Italy a temporary unity.

The Vienna Settlement undid all these legacies and managed to reduce Italy again to a geographical expression. So great was the distrust of liberalism that Metternich did not even allow a formal union. The diplomats found greatest scope for the application of their pet principles of legitimacy and balance of power. To Austria they gave the most prosperous provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, in order to secure Italy against any possible French aggression, while Genoa was joined to Piedmont in order to bar the coastal route to the French. The Bourbon rule was restored in Naples and Sicily. The Papal states were restored to the Pope, and the Habsburg princes were reestablished in Parma Modena and Tuscany. Italy was thus put back on a pre-revolutionary basis, except in so far as the so-called balance

of power demanded the extinction of the two republics of Venice and Genoa. Everywhere the restored rulers reverted to the principles of the old Regime, completely ignoring the challenge of the French Revolution.

In all these states reaction ran high for the time being. Victor Emmanuel I of Piedmont began a systematic policy of sweeping away all relics of the French rule. Lombardy Venetia visualised the stern rule of the Austrian domination. In the Papal states an attempted modernisation of the administration of Cardinal Consalvi failed. The restored Bourbon rulers in the Two Sicilies ruthlessly suppressed all liberal movements.

Consequently, the Carbonari or the movement of secret armed societies began to spread all over Italy thwarting all attempts of the rulers to suppress the forces of liberalism and nationalism. It formed the nucleus about which gathered all the elements of disaffection and its determined purpose was to expel the foreigners and to achieve constitutional freedom. Its members went about secretly fomenting insurrections everywhere. Encouraged by a revolution in Spain the Carbonari incited a revolt in Naples in 1820 and forced its king to grant a constitution. Austria took alarm lest the contagion of liberal ideas should spread to Venice and Lombardy. So it sent an army which put down the revolutionary movement and restored King Ferdinand to absolute power. Before the movement was suppressed, Piedmont was in rebellion and Lombardy was stirring. But again Austria intervened and the movements collapsed. But the smouldering discontent of the people was fanned into flame by the news of the French Revolution of 1830. This time the centre of the Revolution was the Papal states from which it spread to the adjoining Duchies of Parma and extinguished the flames of the insurrection. This carbonari movement collapsed for several reasons. First, the movement suffered from the absence of a clear-cut political ideology. Secondly, the movement suffered from lack of able leadership. Thirdly, it lacked an efficient organization. Fourthly, the Carbonari movement also marked by absence of

any conscious propaganda to enlist active popular support. Fifthly, the movement lacked any national character. These risings were protests against existing conditions. Lastly, they were too local, too spasmodic and the forces arrayed against them were too strong. In spite of its failure the democratic movement of 1831 was significant. It revealed the weakness of the ancient regime to the people and exposed the naked objectives of the foreign intervention.

The repeated failures of isolated insurrection gave impetus for a large and generous creed. That was supplied by Mazzini, the prophet of the 19th century nationalism. Born in 1805 he was caught by the vision of a free and united Italy. At an early age he joined the Carbonari and was imprisoned by the Piedmontese government in 1830 and exiled. Realising the weakness of the Carbonari movement he founded the Society of Young Italy. The Young Italy movement was sharply different and an improvement from the Carbonari movement in its objectives and programmes. First object of the Mazzinians was the expulsion of Austria and sweeping out of foreign domination. Secondly, with the expulsion of the foreign domination Italy was to be united by self-help and without any foreign help by overthrowing numerous principalities dominated by the autocratic despots. Thirdly, the Mazzinian aimed at establishing democratic form of government and propagation of international liberalism. Fourthly, objective of the Mazzinians was the worship of the cult of Italy which acted in competition with the cosmopolitan religion of Catholicism. Fifthly, Mazzini discarded the idea that Italy's destiny depended on the constitutional monarchy under the banner of the House of Savoy or under the liberal Pope. He wanted to unite Italy under the Republican government, a president being at its head. Sixthly, he did not believe in any foreign help and his methods were education and insurrection. And lastly, mass education and incitement to a revolution was only possible by a band of selfless preachers whose main work would be door to door propa-

ganda. The missionaries were also entrusted with the task of national awaking.

Mazzini attempted some insurrections without success. But Mazzini's service to his country must not be judged by what he failed to do. His services were in the realm of ideas and inspiration. The Carbonari insurrections were too local uprisings aiming at establishing constitutional regime. But Mazzini gave the Italians the vision of a united Italy. In his mystic way he propounded the new religion of Cult of Italy which undermined considerably the influence of Catholicism and prestige of the Pope. He proclaimed the progressive view of establishing republicanism, a President being at its head who was to be elected by the people. He inspired the revolutionary movements of other countries also. Ireland, India and China—these countries were the typical examples. In a word he was justly called the 19th century prophet of nationalism. Mazzini's attempts failed due to mainly three causes. This was partly due to his own character, his lack of statesmanship due to external circumstances which was not suitable for the application of his principles and this was due to socio-economic factors. First, his extreme haughtiness, impatience and lack of organising tactics often irritated his followers. Secondly, he was extremely dogmatic and irreconcilable doctrinaire. Thirdly, he ignored the social problem of Italy and lacked the idea of ensuring social justice. These limitations were the limitations of time and that of the conceptions of the bourgeoisie intellectualists. Therefore we came to the next point of the Mazzinian failure—Industrial Revolution. The middle class and the class-interest of this rising bourgeoisie class were still in their infancy as the country was not considerably developed industrially. Besides this objective material factor, there were some limitations in the programme of the Mazzinians. First, his idea of self-help and mass insurrection was sure to be a failure in an unprepared country like Italy where the labour-class was still unorganised and unconscious of their class-interest. Mazzini turned his face away from all possible outside help and even their moral

sympathy. Secondly, his organisation was loose being based on the mystic idea of cult of Italy which ran counter to the old religion of Catholicism and on the temporary enthusiasm of the ignorant populace—the people so long obedient to the chair of St. Peter could little understand his mystic politics. Lastly, his idea of republicanism was far in advance of the currents of time and place. In a word, Italy was not prepared to accept a republican form of government by a popular revolution. The conservative section of the community shrank back from his idea of an actual revolution.

Two other persons prepared the intellectual ground for Italian unity. The most prominent of them was Geoberti who sought to settle the question of unity by advocating a federation of Italian states under the Presidency of the Pope. But his idea was practically impossible as it was impossible to liberalise the church.

D' Azeglio, a Sardinian minister took the third line and he wanted unity of Italy under a constitutional regime and looked to the King of Piedmont for Italy's deliverance. This would avert the dangers of revolution and republicanism. In a sense, he anticipated and prepared grounds for Cavour.

The intellectual awakening produced heat for revolutionary outbreaks in 1848. In 1846 a reforming Pope Pius IX (i) proclaimed an amnesty for political offenders, (ii) relaxed censorship of the press, (iii) set up an elective council and (iv) admitted layman to certain-offices, Metternich became uneasy and sought to coerce the Pope by occupying Ferrara with the Austrian troops. This measure evoked strong protests all over Italy. Next year the movement began in Sicily, demanded autonomy and constitutional reforms and spread to Naples. Frightened Ferdinand granted constitution to both Sicilies. This demand for constitution succeeded in Piedmont, Tuscany and the Papal states. Milan rose against the hated rule of Austria and in Venice Manin drove out the Austrian troops and proclaimed a republic. But the democratic movement soon developed into a struggle for national independence. Urged

by Cavour Charles Albert of Piedmont declared war against Austria and all other monarchs were forced to lend him support. But his dilatoriness coupled with the defection of the Pope and Ferdinand sealed the fate of the war. He was defeated by Radetzky at Custozza and forced to sign an armistice and withdrew from Lombardy. Mazzini attempted to proclaim Rome a republic and the Pope fled away. Yielding to the popular pressure Charles Albert once more took the field. But his defeat at Novara compelled him to abdicate in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Again, Louis Napoleon destroyed the Roman Republic under Mazzini and Garibaldi and restored the Pope to his position. Austria regained her position in Lombardy and Venetia. Absolutism was restored in all states except Piedmont where Victor Emmanuel II remained loyal to the constitution which his father had granted.

Q. 41. [contd.] (a) Discuss the part played by Metternich in the European politics from 1815 to 1848. (b) How far Metternich's policy was justified ? (c) Discuss the part played by Austria in the Concert of Europe.

[N.B. You are to add a fitting introduction taking necessary points from answer to question No, 37. Then you are to discuss his Austrian, German and Italian policy taking necessary points from the answers to questions numbering 38, 39 and 40.]

Successful in Austria, Germany and Italy Metternich carried on his reactionary machinery in the Concert of Europe in order to check France and to ensure the Austrian supremacy in the continent. In the Congress of Aix 1818 Metternich tacitly agreed to accept France in the alliance. But by 1820 he was successful in his home-front and in the Congress of Troppau he outwitted Castlereagh and Alexander by preventing Russian intervention in the Spanish revolt and promulgated the famous Protocol of Troppau. In the Congress of Laibach in 1821 Metternich was authorised to suppress the revolt of Naples for the

predominant interest of Austria in Italy and on their way back the Austrian troops also put down the Piedmontese revolt. In 1822 Metternich was at the zenith of his power. He persuaded Alexander in the Conference of Hanover not to help the Greek insurgents against Turkey. He also sanctioned the right of French intervention in the Spanish revolt which led to the walk out of England from the concert and virtual collapse of the concert. Therefore, the Allies' determination to send troops to the Latin American colonies were foiled by the Polignac memorandum and the threat of Monroe doctrine. But Metternich could boast himself of dominating the European politics upto 1830.

How far Metternich's policy was justified ?

Metternich himself said, "I have come into the world either too early or too late." The remark is significant. It is not possible for a statesman to rise above his class-interest and the demands of his followers. It is not also possible to assess his standard or contribution to the contemporary world. Three main points of attack were generally directed against him. First, he failed to perceive the inner rottenness in the existing socio-political structure of the Austrian empire. Second, he failed to adjust his policy according to the changed circumstances and thirdly, he saw only the destructive side of the Revolution. Thus when Austria could be saved by liberal constitutional grace he shut his mouth against all reforming attempts of the rulers.

But we have some justification of his policy. First, it was natural. He saw the horrors of the Reign of Terror and was the guiding star to wage a relentless war against Napoleon with whom the French mercantile class seriously challenged the continental feudalism and the British capitalist economy. Secondly, he not only saved the Austrian landed class-interest ; he also responded to a particular call of the period. The demand of the period was restoration of status quo and preservation of peace. To

the maintenance of peace and status quo he addressed himself. Thirdly, as an Austrian minister he championed the cause of the Austrian interest. The empire got the rude shock of two forces released by the Revolution i. e, nationalism and liberalism. And he must as the Austrian minister fight out those two forces to preserve intact the empire after Napoleon's downfall.

But Metternich's policy does not bear the impress of great statesmanship. First, it was opportunist and negative in character. His energy was always manifested in repression and never in construction. Secondly, his policy of status quo was virtually one of immobility and stagnation. He failed to understand the impalpable forces of his age.

Q. 42. (a) Discuss the condition of Russia in 1815. (b) Sketch the career of Alexander I. (c) Do you think Alexander I's reign was the glorious period in the Russian history ?

Russia in 1815 :—

Russia emerged as a great European power under Peter [1682-1725] and Catharine II (1762-1796). In the 19th century she was one of the forces for the downfall of Napoleon. But in many ways she was the most backward country. The dominant note of the society was feudalism. Feudal lords and clergies constituted the influential section of the population. With no obligation to discharge, they retained the privileges in the state. The great majority of the agricultural community were serfs. They lived a wretched life under the oppression of landlords and the incidence of taxation rested on them. They were devoid of juristic personality. They managed their own affairs by forming 'mir' or village societies. Catharine II and others tried to improve their fate but made no attempt to abolish serfdom, due to rapid industrialisation, and spread of the Western education a middle-class came to the forefront. The impact of the French revolutionary ideas and return of the Russian soldiers after Napoleon's downfall led to a

liberal movement in Russia in the shape of Union of Public Good Society of Sontuek. Russia was governed under an autocratic regime. The Czar was absolutely an autocrat. He carried on the government with a council of ministers, appointed by him and responsible to him alone. The only recognised laws were the Ukases, the Czar's personal commands. There was no parliament, no freedom of the press, no independence of the judges. There was a vast number of corrupted officials. They were dependent on the Czar who administered the provinces, aided by an imperial police. Everything was corrupt, unjust and dishonest in the governmental machinery.

Alexander I (1801-1825)

In 1815 the Russian Czar was Alexander I who was responsible for giving a death blow to the Napoleonic regime. In his early days he imbibed the liberal views from his teacher La Harpe. But the autocratic force under him produced contradictory tendencies in his mind. In 1807 he concluded the treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon but that friendship was breached in 1811. He refused to enforce the Napoleonic continental system and joined with the League of the allied powers against France. He foiled the Russian invasion of Napoleon and defeated him in the battle of Leipzig. He wanted to make the Russian dictation supreme in the Congress of Vienna and was responsible for mitigating the rigorous attitude of the European diplomats towards France. France was allowed to determine her own destiny. Alexander also supported the British proposal for the abolition of slavery. He acted as a liberal force in the Congress though careful enough to snatch away his share of the spoils. He partitioned Poland and obtained the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. He conferred a constitution to his Polish subjects out of his free-will. He retained Finland which he had conquered from Sweden and Bessarabia which he had wrested from the Turks. The Polish subjects obtained local self-government. There was personal union with Russia and

freedom of press and worship were granted. The Polish language obtained state recognition. In Russia too he wanted to recoup the economic crisis by introducing reforms. He reformed medical, jail, communication, agricultural systems. He encouraged industry and trade, appointed responsible minister in each department of the state. He was responsible for the spread of education in Russia and prepared ground for the abolition of slavery.

In Europe he called on European diplomats in his Holy Alliance. He wanted to check France and the dangerous French ideas by the precepts of Christian religion. By it the European diplomats were obliged to rule their states according to the dictates of religion. Though they did not believe in it sincerely but later on the alliance became a common play ground of unholy despots. But after 1820 he fell under the influence of the reactionary minister of Austria, Metternich. He by working upon his fear of revolution gained him over to the side of reaction. His liberation faded away and he was ready to use his influence or his armies, if necessary, to put down revolutionary movements in Naples, in Germany or in Spain. But Metternich was afraid of increased power of Russia in Europe. He thwarted Alexander's offer of Russian help for suppressing the Spanish revolts. By Metternich's advice he refused to support a rising on behalf of the Greeks which was headed by Alexander Hypsilanti, though the Russian people openly sympathised with the insurgents. He supported Metternich's policy of intervention and signed the Protocol of Trappau. Because he was afraid of spread of the French republicanism, murder of Kotzebeu in Germany, terrorism of underground activities in Germany and Italy and revolt of one section of his military organisation. His conversion to reactionary policy disgusted the liberals and stimulated the growth of secret societies. He died in 1825. His attempt to combine religious mysticism with politics may be regarded as a cause of his failure. Moreover, Metternich was also a factor which shaped his later reactionary attitude:

Q. 18. (a) Do you think Nicholas I made a departure from the foreign policy chalked out by Alexander I? (b) How far is it true to say that Nicholas I's reign is a turning point in the Russian History? (c) Discuss the claim of Alexander II to be regarded as the "Tsar Liberator" (d) Discuss the reforms of Tsar Alexander II. What are the consequences of their reforms?

Nicholas I (1825—1855)

Nicholas I began his reign by suppressing the first revolutionary attempt of the Decembrists and this gave the tone to his entire administration. The reactionary character deepened after the suppression of the Polish revolt in 1831 and the suspension of the Vienna constitution granted to Poland in 1815. Nicholas organised the secret police department of the Third Section and thousands of people were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia in his reign. The censorship of the press was tightened and the Universities were placed under the strictest control. In short, the rule of Nicholas I surpassed even the Metternich system in its ferocity and 1848 revolutions in Europe produced no response in Russia. Unlike the previous rulers Nicholas I set his face against westernisation which was held to be the source of all discontents.

The foreign policy of Nicholas I was however, a mixture of traditionalism and innovations. In 1828-29 he defeated Turkey and made Greece free (Treaty of Adrianople) but the joint action of the powers on the Greek issue was broken by England and Russian influence became predominant in Constantinople. In 1833 Nicholas I tried a new policy of protecting Turkey against Mehemet Ali (Unkair skelessi) but here again he abandoned the special position of Russia by agreeing on joint action in 1840. In 1833 he also revived the Holy Alliance (Munchengratz) but once again he moderated this policy by seeking an agreement with England. He sincerely wished for an Anglo-Russian understanding over Turkey (talks in 1840 and 1853) but this only

hastened the Crimean War. In 1849 he conquered Hungary for the Austrian emperor. His miscalculations about England and his antipathy to Napoleon III brought about the Crimean War from 1853 to '55, a war which broke his heart and shattered the prestige of the Tsar in Russia itself.

The sharp repression of Nicholas I made political activities dangerous and even almost impossible in Russia. But the reign also saw a tremendous literary activity being the age of Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenieff, Dostoievski.

While direct political discussion was ruled out, the Russian intellectualists turned as a substitute to philosophical debate with an indirect political significance. Two schools of opinion took shape—the Slavophiles held that Russia had little to learn from outside, that Russian conditions were unique and different, that the Slav people and Holy Russia had a special destiny to be worked out in the light of the ancient heritage. The institution of the *Mir*, or the village community was an ideal form of social organisation, that industrialisation and capitalism were foreign evils to be carefully avoided. In sharp opposition to Slavophile doctrines arose the westerners who urged that advanced Russia had to teach much to the backward Russia, that the general line of development was more or less in the same direction all over the world, that it was futile to regard Russia and Russian civilisation as a special creation that traditional ideas and institutions had serious defects. After a prolonged controversy the westerners gradually prevailed over the Slavophiles. This was largely due to the writings of Harzen and Balentski.

Apart from this intellectual discussions economic changes continued to creep forward. In spite of the reactionary policy of the government the type of slow economic change could not be kept out. Small scale manufactures went on developing. The home market readily developed. Increasingly more and more grain was produced for the commodity market. By the middle of the century the opinion had gained ground except among doctrinaires that industrial development was necessary and that the existing

serf-system had hindered the industrial regeneration of the country.

ALEXANDER II

The government and the ruling class would not admit the necessity of changing the traditional system, economic and political but the shock of the Crimean War made reform unavoidable. The son of Nicholas I Alexander II came to the throne in 1855 and began to move haltingly towards reforms to reinforce the same monarchy. After long delay and discussions some reform measures were adopted. (1) The surviving Decembrist exiles were released; (2) The censorship of the press was relaxed; (3) the prohibition on foreign travel was removed and (4) most of the restrictions on universities were withdrawn. He next turned to the (5) improvement of the economic condition of Russia, encouraging industry and commerce and planning a railway system. But what deservedly earned him an enduring reputation was his successful tackling of the question of serfdom. (6) The emancipation Edict was issued in 1861 liberating millions of serfs but emancipation was coupled with compensation to the aristocracy. The peasant village communities or *mirs* were allotted part of the land in each locality and were saddled with an annual payment of compensation to the landlords who retained the other part of the land. Moreover, the peasants continued to live under economic compulsion though it was not legal to work under the landlord. Thus emancipation failed to satisfy the peasant masses who continued to agitate for the so-called "Black Redistribution" i.e., the division of the whole land amongst the cultivators. The intellectualists also were dissatisfied notably Chernishievsky, the great democratic critic of the period. But in spite of defects emancipation was a big step forward towards economic, social and political transformation.

The emancipation was followed by other reforms. (7) In 1864 was set up the elected local councils the *Zemstevos* which were entrusted with the management of local affairs

like education, public health, local communication, collection of statistics etc.,. But that did not bring any change in the political theory of the despotic monarchy or any real power in the hands of the community. In the same year the judicial reform introduced the jury and tried to purify the judicial procedure. But these reforms could not ensure social and legal equality. The censorship of the press was relaxed. But by 1865 the reforming zeal of Alexander became a spent force. There were several reasons which prompted Alexander II to abandon the path of reform. He was disappointed at the ill-success of his measures which did not immediately produce the desired results. But the decisive factor in altering the Czar's policy was the Polish insurrection of 1863. The conciliatory measures of Alexander II was regarded by the Poles as signs of weakness. Encouraged by Louis Napoleon they demanded complete independence. But in 1864 the revolt was suppressed the Poles were denationalised and the Tsar followed a Policy of Russification towards Poland. Alexander II gave up all idea of further reforms and swung back to reaction. Moreover, the conservative landed aristocrats and other vested interest behind him made him nervous. Censorship of the press was restored and the infamous secret police revived, education was controlled and new developments in science were expurgated from the curricula. With the repressive measures opinion again began to harden against "the Tsar liberator who always felt in return that people were ungrateful."

In Europe Alexander II abandoned his father's policy of intervention and withdrew as far as possible from foreign complications. He held a threat to Louis Napoleon's support for the Polish insurgents. The Prusso-Russian rapprochement enabled Prussia to expel Austria and eventually France from Germany. Russia had her revenge for Austrian ingratitude during the Crimean war. He repudiated the clauses of the Treaty of Paris which restricted her in the Black Sea. In 1877 he declared war on Turkey and obtained the advantages of the Treaty of San Stefano though

he could not reap its full fruits due to desertion of Prussia. But his reign saw considerable extension of Russian influence in Asia. Russia pushed her territory to the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan causing alarm and uneasiness to England. By the Treaty of Aïun with China, Russia largely added to her Siberian dominions and obtained the port of Vladivostock which serves as a terminus to the great Trans-Siberian railway and as a base for the Russian fleet in the Pacific. In the south the territory round the Caucasus mountains was brought under Russian control.

But this expansionist foreign policy could not check underground revolutionary activities. In the course of next few years there arose a movement amongst the people for reforms, who were disappointed at Alexander's policy of reform. This movement came to be known as the Narodnik because of the famous phrase in 1874 of "going amongst the people" during which hundreds of youngmen and women from the middle class went out for village-work to rouse the consciousness of the oppressed peasantry. The movement was something of a fiasco but it threw the government into alarm and a terrific persecution was launched. The only result was driving another movement to secret underground where they organised the powerful society of Land and Freeman. One section wanted to stick to peaceful activities but another turned to terrorism. The Narodnik extremists became famous in Europe as the Nihilists i.e., the people who believe in nothing. That was, of course, a mere caricature.

With the turning of Narodnik to violence began a tremendous dualism between them and the government. Terrorism culminated in the assassination of the Tsar liberator in 1881 but gradually the police got the upperhand as the terrorist movement had no active mass support behind them. The next reign that of Alexander III (1881-1894) gradually demonstrated this. As terrorism failed the Narodniks largely turned to futile and reactionary ideas.

The mantle of opposition began now to pass away from the Narodniks to the socialists who were frankly the heirs of

the westerners of the previous generation. Many Russian intellectualists turned to the new socialist doctrine as political exiles in the west. In 1883 Plekhanov organised abroad the Emancipation of Labour Groups as the first Russian socialist organisation. Meanwhile the progress of industry after emancipation gave rise to a Russian labour movement. Plekhanov's great work was to expose the defects of Narodnik ideology.

In the closing years of the century under Alexander III and Nicholas II the Tsarist repression reached its highest stage but at the same time the steady growth of industrial capitalism was cutting the ground from under the feet. The forces of resistance in Russia were, however, not liberal or purely democratic but socialist. In 1825 a new leader arose in Lenin who in his "League of Struggle" made the first effective union between socialist ideology and the working class movement in Russia. By 1903 the Russian social democratic party had established itself as a leading force for the approaching revolution.

19 Q (a) Show how far monarchy was responsible for the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (b) Discuss the circumstances leading to the fall of the monarchy in Russia.

Alexander III (1881-94)—Alexander's reign began in 1881 when the country was given over to unmitigated reaction. His reign was a tale of struggle between autocracy and revolutionary forces. Under the influence of Pobyedonstieff "one Czar, one church, one Russia" became his motto. He followed two fundamental objectives : First, policy of suppression and second, policy of Russification. The Nihilists and other terrorists were hunted down, the freedom of press was annulled. the students and teachers were strictly watched and the power of the Zemstevos severely curtailed. Towards the subject races of the Empire the Czar pursued a policy Russification. Attempts were made in establishing homogeneity in the empire. Dissident faiths and less im-

portant languages were stamped out, The Protestant Stundists were mercilessly harried, sermons were censored and dissent of every kind was persecuted. The Poles, the Germans of the Baltic provinces, the Finns all felt the weight of this policy. The Jews were subjected to organised attacks or Pogroms. The free peasants were again thrown under the landlords. Justices of the Peace now assumed the garb of Land Captains. The executive and the judiciary were placed under the same officers.

But the reign of Alexander III saw the beginning of industrial and economic development. Count Witte invited foreign capital in Russia to utilise the vast untapped resources of the country and the quantity of cheap labour. The railway system was extended and the great Trans-Siberian railroad begun. The new economic activities developed. Witte adopted a high protective tariff to foster home industries. The Dual Alliance between France and Russia enabled Alexander to borrow loans from France. The rise of a strong labour class led to emergence of Trade Unionism and working-class movement. Its effects were felt in the reign of Nicholas II.

Nicholas II (1894—1917)

On the death of Alexander III his son Nicholas II, the last of the Czars, ascended the throne. A convinced believer of absolutism, subject to influences of Czarina and Rasputin he carried on the machinery of oppression and autocracy. He reposed utmost confidence on Pobeydonosteff, the philosopher of reaction and in Plehve. The legislation against the Jews was enforced and the number of pogroms increased. The intellectuals were cruelly persecuted. The constitution enjoyed by Finland was arrogated and Finland was subjected to a process of Russification. Espionage system was reorganised. But in spite of this repressive regime trade and industry made rapid progress under the able guidance of Count Witte. This led the Zemstevos to cooperate with each other and to advance

a greater freedom. Witte was compelled to set up several agricultural committees to make recommendations as to necessary reforms. But the recommendations angered Nicholas and Witte was outwitted by dismissal. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 Russia was defeated and heralded the outbreak of strikes and disturbances. In 1905 the labourers were fired with Father Gapon on the 'Bloody Sunday' and in response the Czar's uncle Grand Duke Serge was assassinated in Moscow. Frightened Czar attempted reconciliation which intensified hatred against Czarist regime. The October Manifesto was issued granting various freedoms reactionary ministers were dismissed and the First Duma was elected in May 1906 on a broad franchise. But the revolutionaries did not form a united party and were divided on the constitutional question. The moderate liberals or Octobrists were content with the October manifesto. The constitutional Democratic Party or the cadets demanded representative government based on doctrine of popular sovereignty. There were also socialist sections. The Duma following a conservative line issued organic Laws which vested in the Tsar an absolute power to veto all legislation. This led to disappointment of the Cadets who withdrew to Finland and issued the Viborg manifesto calling Russia to non-cooperate with the government. The first Duma was ended and in March 1907 a second Duma met. But there was the same impasse between it and the minority and it was dissolved in consequence. The Third Duma met in November 1907. It was summoned on a fundamentally altered electoral law and reduced franchise. The Duma became subservient to the government and the Fourth Duma which met in 1912 had much the same political complexion as its predecessor and proved even more docile. Thus ended in failure the struggle for liberty in Russia. From 1907 reaction had set in under Stolypin, "The Russian Bismarck". He laboured to combine a firm government with measures of reform. He put down disturbances with a heavy hand and at the same time sought to conciliate the working and the peasants to be

owners of land detaching themselves from the mir, legalised trade-unions and introduced a general scheme of working-men's insurance. Stolypin was, however, murdered in 1911. In 1916 a new political party, Progressive Block strengthened the demand for constitutional reforms. This popular demand brought another terrible war which destroyed autocracy of Czar Nicholas in 1917.

Q. 20. (a) Discuss the history of Austria after the Revolution of 1818, (b) How far the political problems facing Austria-Hungary was solved by the Ausgleich of 1867 ?

The failure of the Revolution of 1848-49 was followed by ruthless reaction in the Habsburg monarchy. Cossouth became an exile and military authority was established over German, Magyar and Slav peoples alike. The Hungarian constitution was suppressed. But reaction could not destroy either the national or the liberal movements and one result of 1848, the suppression of serfdom remained intact.

The maintenance of old regime by sheer military force would not be permanent and the crisis came after the spectacular defeat of Austrian military power in Italy in 1859. Some kind of adjustment became unavoidable after this defeat in war.

After some experiments the Emperor proclaimed a liberal constitution in 1861 for the whole of the Austrian empire. There was to be a centralised parliament to which every part of the Empire was to send deputies. This was a liberal measure but the nationalist aspirations of different peoples could not be satisfied in this way.

The constitutional scheme of 1861 was soon wrecked by the opposition of the Magyar nationalists led by Francis Deak, the Hungarians refused to participate and successfully carried out a programme of boycott and non-cooperation. No Hungarian deputies were elected and the Central government was forced by 1865 to open negotiations. The Hungarian demand was for the restoration of the suspended Hungarian constitution.

At this stage the Austrian monarchy sustained a second shock by its defeat by Prussia in 1866. It was now necessary to come to some agreement to the powerful national movements in the empire and this change of policy was carried-out next year.

The central point in the new policy was an agreement with the most powerful of the national movements, the Hungarian at the expense of the minor nationalities. This is the main thing in the compromise of 1867 usually called the *Ausgleich* or the equalisation between Austria and Hungary. The empire was divided into two states, Austria and Hungary, each with a government responsible to its own parliament and each completely autonomous in its own affairs. The other nationalities were incorporated in the two states, Bohemia in Austria, Croatia in Hungary etc. The two states were then united under the same ruler into what was called a real union as distinct from merely the personal union established in 1848. In this real union three departments of state, finance, foreign and war were unified under common ministers. The three common ministers were to be controlled by two committees of delegations appointed by the two parliaments. Thus was constituted the dual monarchy of Austria, Hungary, a new phenomenon in political science. This dual monarchy existed from 1867 to 1918.

The compromise of 1867 satisfied the two dominant peoples, now in partnership but naturally was not popular with the submerged Slav nationalities i.e., the Czechs, the Poles, the Croats etc. The Czechs of Bohemia started a furious agitation and were almost on the point of winning from Austria the equal status conceded to the Magyars. They would not allow the conversion of a dual monarchy into a triple or quadruple monarchy and thus the hopes of minor nationalities were defeated. What is more, within the frontiers of Hungary the Magyars embarked on the policy of magyarisation denying any corporate privilege to any other nationality. Thus the Magyar language was made obligatory. This ultra-nationalist policy was against the

advice of Francis Deak who had advocated the equal treatment of all nationalities in Hungary.

The internal condition in the dual monarchy after 1867 continued, therefore, to be stormy and the tension persisted till the First World War broke up Austria-Hungary. In the history of the dual monarchy there was constant agitation and some reformers wanted to replace the dualism by Federalism i.e., the division of the territory into more than half a dozen separate states to be united in a federation. This sound idea of a Danubian federation was defeated, however by the fanatical upholders of the Ausgleich. The other fact of interest in the internal history of Austria-Hungary is in the wake of rapid industrialisation the steady growth of a powerful social democratic movement in the country which held out some prospect of softening national antagonism separating different peoples.

21 Q. (a) Do you agree with the view that out of Disraeli's policy at the Congress of Berlin arose most of the causes of the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 and of Great War of 1914? (b) Discuss the history of the Near East from the Peace of Paris upto the Treaty of Berlin 1878.

The Crimean War was not more useless than many other wars in history but it certainly did not settle or stabilise the problem of the Near East. In the course of the next two decades much of the 1856 settlements broke down. Between 1858-62 the the two Danubian principalities united themselves into one state, Rumania inspite of the previous ban. In 1870-71 Russia repudiated the neutralisation of the Black Sea and the London Conference legalised this violation. Palmerston's dream of regenerated Turkey faded away in this period and justice to the Christian subjects of Turkey promised in 1856 proved to be illusive. The international guarantee to Turkey given in 1856 broke at the next crisis and the joint action of the great powers proved as impossi-

ble as ever. Finally, in the third quarter of a century two new factors added to the complication. The Pan-slav agitation became a factor with great force in Russia and the Balkans and in sharp reaction to it there was a pan-Islamic revival which stiffened the Turkish attitude against the Christians.

It was in these circumstances that the fourth crisis in the century began in the summer of 1875 with a revolt of the Christian peasantry of Herzegovina against Turkish rule with economic and political demands. With the assistance of volunteers from the neighbouring areas the rebels successfully held out against the Turkish army for the rest of the year.

The three Eastern powers tried to act together in spite of the differences between Austria and Russia. In Germany 1876 they drew out the Andrassy note with the approval of other powers sketching the necessary reforms in the Turkish state. The Turkish government accepted in principle the necessity of reforms but refused to allow any outside interference. In May 1876 the three Eastern Powers drew up the Berlin Memorandum threatening intervention if there was no reform in two months. But this time the British government under Disraeli refused support to this projected intervention, thus breaking down the European concert and encouraging Turkey in its obstinacy. Disraeli had to revert to the traditional British policy of bolstering up Turkey for fear of Russian advance.

On the breakdown of joint intervention the autonomous states of Serbia and Montenegro rushed to the aid of the Christian rebels (June, 1876). The Turks answered by letting loose wild irregular troops in the Christian districts and the Bashi-Bazouk troops carried out the terrible Bulgarian atrocities massacring Christian population in Bulgarian districts. There was a tremendous outburst of indignation in Europe and Gladstone conducted a campaign against "the unspeakable Turks" declaring that the Turks should be expelt "bag and baggage" from Europe. Appealing to moral and religious principles Gladstone argued that

the traditional British policy towards Turkey could, no longer be maintained but Disraeli resisted this pressure. As the excitement gradually subsided British imperialist interest resumed their sway over the British Eastern policy.

By 1877 it was clear that the Balkan Christians would be crushed by the Turks if unaided while Disraeli's policy still prevented joint action by the powers. Russia could no longer restrain itself and fell back on the policy of single-handed intervention. Securing Austrian neutrality by the promise of compensations "The Reichstadt Agreement" Russia now declared war against Turkey. Even Disraeli in the face of public opinion did not dare to help Turkey openly in the war. The Turks put up a brave resistance (defence of Plevna by Osman Pasha) but after sometime the superior Russian strength began to prevail.

By the end of 1877 Russia imposed on Turkey the Peace of San Stefano. The main feature of the Peace was the creation of a new Christian state "Big Bulgaria" which would reduce Turkish rule in the Balkans to a shadow. But Big Bulgaria was not liked by the already existing Balkan states as both Serbia and Greece had an eye on Macedonia which was included in the new state. Austria also was nervous about the Russian penetration in the Balkans and England was merely watching for the suitable opportunity to check Russia. Thus the Russian victory called up fresh opposition on all sides.

Austria and England now demanded the revision of San Stefano by a European Congress and even began military preparation to force Russia to yield. They got their point and the Congress of Berlin met to carry out the revision. At the Berlin Congress "Big Bulgaria" was cut into three i.e. Bulgaria proper which was made autonomous, Eastern Rumelia or South Bulgaria to be ruled by a Christian government appointed by Turkey and Macedonia which was handed over to the Turkish rule. The other arrangements of San Stefano were confirmed, namely, the full independence of three Balkan states—Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and the cession of a part of Armenia to Russia. Rumania

was also forced to cede Bessarabia, up to the river Danube to Russia in return for the territory of Dobrudza. The absolutely new feature of the Berlin settlement was the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austrian army as compensation and the British acquisition of the island-base of Cyprus.

Disraeli boasted that from the Berlin Congress he "brought back peace with honour." Later events do not bear out this boast though for the time being his diplomatic triumph was undeniable. Honour in this case implied restoration of Turkish misrule over millions of christians and the perpetuation of the Macedonian problem. Russia was checked in the Balkans but this only redoubled the Russian pressure in Central Asia (which almost led to war in 1885 over the Panjdeh incident). Russian expansion was also checked in the Balkans and encouraged to flow towards the Far East (Manchuria and the Pacific coasts). It may also be added that England and Austria in the name of protecting Turkey against Russia thought it not incompatible with honour to help themselves to generous slices of Turkish territory (Bosnia and Cyprus).

22. (a) Trace and outline the main phases of the Eastern Question from 1815 to 1878.

(b) "I shall not see the world war, but you will and it will start in the Near East"—Bismarck. Show how Bismarck's policy was fulfilled?

(c) Discuss the story of the emergence of the Balkan states and clearly point out the problems which cropped up in the European politics.

The first Balkan people to emerge as a state in the 19th century were the Serbs who revolted on their own effort in 1804 and won from Turkey in 1817 the concessions of internal autonomy under a native prince. The sister peoples in the hills of Montenegro claimed that they had never been really subjugated by the Turkish invaders. But the European powers took no notice of either Serbia or Montenegro.

Next to emerge were the Greeks who fought their war of independence from 1821--1840. Recognised as autonomous by the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829 they got in 1830 full independence (the first fully independent Balkan state) and enlarged frontiers in 1832. A Bavarian dynasty was established and a constitution introduced in 1844. In 1863 a Danish royal family succeeded to the throne.

The next Balkan state arose out of the Peace of Paris 1856 which recognised the autonomy of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and cancelled the Russian protectorate over them. In 1856 the principalities were directed to be separate but encouraged by Napoleon III's championship of the national principle they proceeded in 1858 to elect the same prince and in 1862 to merge the two assemblies into one. Thus arose autonomus Rumania.

In 1864 Britain ended its protectorate over the Ionian islands which were added to Greece. In 1870 the Bulgarian christians secured their religious freedom under the authority of a newly created Eunuch.

Out of San Stefano and the Berlin treaties 1877-78 there arose another autonomous state Bulgaria proper while complete independence was granted to Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro.

The Berlin settlement did not satisfy the Balkan peoples. Serbia was angry at the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and the Turkish retention of Nobi Bazar which separated Serbia from Montenegro. Montenegro was given the Adriatic port of Dulcigno but it could be occupied only with great difficulty on account of Turkish resistance. Greece wanted a northern extension and in 1881 Gladstone forced Turkey to give Greece—Thessaly and a third of Epirus. Rumania was not satisfied with Dobruzda given as compensation for the loss Bessarabia. Bulgaria was angry with the reduction in size. Disraeli's denial of Macedonia to Bulgaria, however, kept alive Serbian and Greek aspirations in this quarter. In 1881 the rulers of Servia and Rumania assumed royal status.

In autonomous Bulgaria the Battenburg rulers did not

prove as expected to be a docile Russian tool and the foolish arrogance of the Tsarist advisers and officials cured the Bulgarians of their affection for the Russian liberators. A strong man appeared in Bulgarian politics in the peasant leader Stambuloff who reduced the Russian influence and also managed to expand his country. In 1885 a bloodless revolution united East Rumelia or South Bulgaria with Bulgaria proper thus breaking down Disraeli's partition. Serbia now attacked Bulgaria—the first indication that the new Balkan states were quite willing to fight each other. Beaten back these Serbs were protected from Bulgarian counter-attack only by Austrian intervention—thus illustrating that the emergence of the Balkan states were widening the field for the intervention by the great powers. In 1886 the union of the two Bulgarians was generally accepted but the Russians in a last attempt to retain their ascendancy over Bulgaria kidnapped Prince Alaxander Battenburg. After his release the prince abdicated in 1817 to be succeeded by another German prince Ferdinand of Sanicobergotha. The new ruler relying on the support of the central powers, ended the Russian control.

In 1896 the revolt of Crete brought on a short war between Turkey and Greece. The Greeks were defeated but saved by the powers which imposed an armistice. Greece lost a small part of Thessaly but Turkey was compelled to recognise the autonomy of Crete. It was only in 1910 that Crete was finally allowed to unite with Greece.

The most important thing in the Balkan question towards the end of the 19th century was the emergence of a new factor of German interests. Bismarck had contented himself with supporting Austria against Russia and in the whole of the 19th century Prussia had kept aloof from the Near East. But German imperial ambitions were now mounting up and Austria was becoming more and more a satellite of Germany. A new epoch was introduced by Kaiser William II's visit to Turkey in 1808 when he posed as the friend of Pan-Islamism. In 1902 the Berlin-Bagdad Railway project took shape. The new German imperialism

was beginning to draw both Turkey and Bulgaria into the orbit of the central powers.

The lot of the remaining Christian subjects of Turkey did not materially improve as a result of Balkan independence for the impact of the great powers in the Near East. This is proved by the Armenian massacres in 1897-98 which went on without interference. The disunion among the great powers was more acute than ever and the Armenians were left to their fate,

The advent of Germany in the Near East threw England's traditional policy into the melting-pot. England was being dislodged from its role of guardianship over Turkey by German competitions. This finally led to the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 which would have been unthinkable in the 19th century.

In the six years before the First World War the near Eastern problem flared up into a great crisis. For a long time the party of the young Turks had dreamt about regenerating their country and thus saving it from the European neighbours. In 1908 they carried out a revolution under Enver Pasha, the precursor of Mustafa Kamal. But this did not save the Turks from the neighbouring pressure. The prince of Bulgaria now assumed a royal title making his state the fourth independent Balkan state and Austria took the opportunity of turning its occupation of Bosnia into formal annexation. South-slav indignation boiled over at Austria's action but the Kaiser promised to second the Austrian adventure in supplying army. The Balkan states now formed a league which completely defeated Turkey in the war of 1912 but the great powers did not allow the Balkan peoples to settle their own fate. In particular the central powers refused to allow an Adriatic outlet for Serbia and led the foundation of the state of Albania under their control. The disappointed Balkan states began to fight each other and in 1913 in the second Balkan War Bulgaria attacked by the other Balkan states lost heavily. This drove Bulgaria into greater dependence on the central Powers while the Balkan Civil War enabled Turkey to

retain Constantinople. The result of all these was to deepen the feud between Serbia and Austria which was the immediate occasion for the beginning of the First World War.

23. Q. (a) From 1871 to 1890 Bismarck was the arbiter of European politics".

—Elucidate,

(b) What was the Triple Alliance? How did it come into existence and how did it affect the diplomacy of the European powers?

(c) What were the problems of Bismarck within the German Empire after 1871 and how far he was successful in tackling them?

(d) Give an outline of Bismarck's foreign policy and point out some weak points in this policy.

The Franco-Prussian war marked the ascendancy of Germany in the European politics. The new constitution made Germany a federal empire. It was neither democratic nor responsible but ensured autocracy and supremacy of Prussia. In 1871 Bismarck was appointed the imperial Chancellor to pilot the destiny of a nation.

In domestic affairs the chief aim of Bismarck was to consolidate the Empire and to merge Prussia within the consolidated territories. He wanted to ensure the domination of the HohenZollern dynasty of Prussia and he kept intact the Junker or the interest of the Prussian landed aristocracy by eliminating local separation. And lastly, he wanted to strengthen the Empire by fighting out all antagonistic forces following the policy of "blood and iron" of the type of Sulla of the ancient Roman Empire. To further these objectives he was backed by some favourable factors. First, his sublime self-assurance and dictatorial resoluteness and diplomatic ability to yield before pressure of circumstances. Second, he got assistance of some able commanders and a ready army. And lastly, the unstinted support of the Emperor also paved the way for his ascendancy.

He adopted measures to consolidate and strengthen the

Empire. (i) Common Imperial Codes of law began to supersede the perplexing variety of local legal systems, uniform legal procedure was promulgated. (ii) An imperial bank was set up in 1876 and a new common coinage was instituted. (iii) The railways owned mostly by the states, were put under the supervision of an Imperial board. The military and postal organisations were also centralised. (iv) The Prussian military system was extended to all the states and the size of the army was permanently fixed and the financial grant necessary to maintain it for seven years. Here he compromised with the Reichstag by the "Septennate."

The discontent of the non-German nationalities were wiped out by following a systematic policy of Germanisation. There were the Danes of Schleswig, the Poles of eastern Prussia and the people of Alsace-Lorraine. But Bismarck had to reckon with the sentiment of nationality. Not even the grant in 1911 of a considerable measure of local autonomy served to reconcile the different peoples to the Empire.

• Bismarck sought to Germanise the Polish districts forcibly. But the attempt failed as the Poles fought stubbornly for their language and land.

He waged ruthless war against those forces which he thought was likely to undermine the solidarity of the Empire. In the "Kulturkampf" or struggle for civilization he had to encounter a protracted struggle with the Catholic church. The Catholics organised themselves as a political party and opposed the ascendancy of the protestant Prussia in the Empire. They wanted to restore the temporal power of the Papacy. Bismarck wanted to crush them to avoid embarrassed foreign relations and to keep the solidarity of the Empire. In 1870 the Vatican issued the decree of Papal Infallibility and denounced the old Catholics of Germany. To counter the Papal party in south Germany in 1872 Bismarck expelled the Jesuits and their affiliated orders. The famous May Laws of 1873 enjoined compulsory civil marriage, established state control over the education of

clericals and preserved veto for their appointment. The Pope Pius IX declared the laws invalid and the Catholics offered obstinate resistance to the policy of persecution. Bismarck declared that "he would not go to Conossa" to humiliate his stand before the Pope. But he had to climb down for the very severity of the laws and against mounting agitation of the socialists. After 1878 Pope Leo XIII was moderately inclined to meet Bismarck half-way. Bismarck allowed the obnoxious anti-Catholic laws to lapse and restored diplomatic relations with the Pope.

Close on the heels of this struggle came his war on socialism. The rapid industrialisation in Germany originated a powerful working class movement. In 1875 the followers of Marx and those of Lassalle joined hands to form Social Democratic Party and in 1887 secured 12 seats in the Reichstag. This party advocated political democracy, revolutionary social legislation and anti-militarism. Taking advantage of the public excitement following two unsuccessful attempts on the Emperor in 1878 Bismarck passed repressive laws against them. The meetings prohibited, publication suppressed, funds confiscated and their leaders were arrested. But socialism was driven underground and in 1890 they nearly trebled their membership in Reichstag. Though failed to suppress the party Bismarck by passing social legislations sought to improve the condition of workman and to win them away from the Party allegiance. He provided for insurance, old-age pension and thus provided a model for social legislation of England and France. The state socialism countered the socialistic menace of a revolution.

Though not unmindful to improve the lot of the working people he was more attentive to the interest of the industrialists. He was the first European diplomat to abandon the policy of laissez-faire and to adopt the policy of protection based upon high tariff. He protected infant industries from foreign competitions and increased the amount of imperial revenue. It strengthened the bonds of the Empire and gave an impetus to industrial development.

It alienated the liberals and forced him to come to terms with the Catholics.

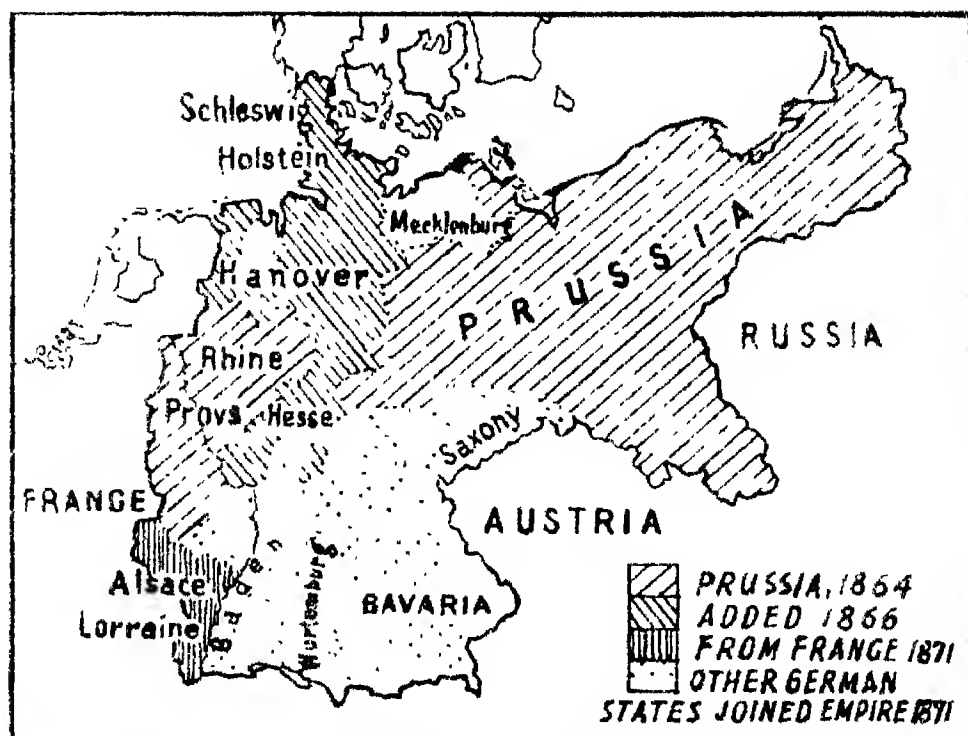
The logic of German industrialisation forced Bismarck to form a colonial policy though at first he opposed the idea as a true representative of the German landed aristocracy. The need of colonies was felt for securing raw materials for her expanding industries and as outlets for her growing population. To these economic causes was added the patriotic desire to see Germany a great world power. There was the irresistible national demand for overseas expansion. Trading companies were formed and secured governmental concessions. Bismarck had to swallow his earlier prejudices and joined in the European scramble for the partition of Africa in 1884 and established protectorates over Togoland, Cameroons and considerable portions of S. W. Africa and E. Africa.

Foreign Policy of Bismarck :—

Bismarck achieved for Germany national unity and hegemony of Europe by a policy of "blood and iron". After 1871 his policy was directed towards the maintenance of peace and status quo. Germany, he declared, was a "satiated" country. This was necessary to the development of her political unity. Secondly, he devoted his diplomatic skill towards providing safeguards against a possible renewal of French hostility. He realised that France should never be reconciled. He sought to prevent any possible French menace by completely isolating her. To isolate her diplomatically it was necessary for Germany to form a comprehensive system of alliances and conversely, to prevent the formation of counter-alliances against her.

The keystone of his foreign policy was a close alliance with Austria. The way was already prepared for a rapprochement by his lenient treatment of Austria after Sadowa. He next fixed upon Russia his eyes. Russia had the support of Bismarck when in 1870 she took advantage of the Franco-Prussian war to repudiate the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. Out of these factors Bismarck

succeeded in forming a three Emperor's league or Dreikaiserbund, comprising the Emperor's of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary. Ostensibly it was meant to emphasise the common interests of the three Emperors in strengthening the monarchical principle and arresting the progress of socialism. But its political significance lies in the fact that Austria had forgiven Sadowa and accepted her exclusion from Germany. The Dreikaiserbund, a diplomatic victory of Bismarck proved difficult to maintain. It was ruffled in 1875 by the scare of war between Germany and France. In which the Czar intervened to prevent Germany from attacking France. Secondly, Austro-Prussian rivalry in the Balkans made it difficult to maintain this league. At the Congress of Berlin Bismarck had to make his choice between the two rivals. He chose Austria and thereby offended Russia. He supported the Austrian demands that the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted for revision to a European Congress. The coolness of relations with Russia and Germany was followed by the strengthening of ties by the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria. It provided for mutual military assistance in case either power should be attacked by France aided by Russia. Thirdly, Bismarck drew Italy into the platform. The Italians feared that France might seek to restore the temporal power of the Papacy. Bismarck worked upon this fear and fomented Franco-Italian rivalry over Tunis in North Africa. The Dual Alliance was converted into the Triple Alliance in 1882. It was no mean achievement for Bismarck to bring into the same fold two powers who had been traditional enemies in the past and between whom there existed outstanding causes of friction. Yet in making this comprehensive system of alliances for the protection of Germany Bismarck had no mind to antagonise Russia lest she should be drawn towards France. As he declared, he must keep the "private wire open to St. Petersburg" although the "public wire" had broken. In 1879 a secret Treaty was signed by which each of the three Emperors promised benevolent neutrality in case one of



THE GROWTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

them should become involved in war with a fourth power. But good relations between Russia and Austria were destroyed owing to the outbreak of troubles in the Balkans. Bismarck concluded a separate Reinsurance treaty with Russia in 1887 in order to isolate France and to make Germany the arbiter of the international relations of Europe. The peace of Europe rested on the Bismarckian diplomacy.

But there are some weak points in Bismarck's foreign policy. First, he had chosen Austria and Italy as Germany's yoke-fellows but this arrangement was fraught with risk and lacked cohesion. Second, another flaw in Bismarck's system was that he failed to mitigate the enmity of France. He could not reconcile France to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine as he had reconciled Austria to her exclusion from Germany. The result was that France remained un placated. This coupled with the Balkan ambitions of Austria-Hungary led to the Great War of 1914 when the Triple Alliance reared by Bismarck fell to pieces. Third limitation was his ingratitude towards Russia which led to the Franco-Russian alliance. Bismarckian diplomacy divided Europe into two armed camps. Fourth, Bismarck paid little attention to the colonial developments of Germany. And lastly, Britain was a detached power, but Bismarck's system of alliances had made detachment a highly dangerous condition. In spite of these drawbacks Bismarck succeeded in satisfying the then territorial ambitions of Germany. From 1871 to 1890 he controlled the European balance of power in Germany. It preserved peace and maintained status quo which enabled Germany to consolidate her empire and strengthen her economic and political foundations.

24. Q. (a) Sketch the career of William II and show how far he was responsible for the World War. (b) How far Kaiser William II made a departure from the Bismarckian foreign policy ?

William II (1888-1918)

With the accession of Kaiser William II Germany received a new master and opened a new page of her history. He

was self-willed, convinced of his divine-right and swayed by militarism. Sharp differences between the young Emperor and the Chancellor developed on governmental policy regarding foreign, colonial and internal administration. William II would not allow Bismarck to guide the policy of the state and so the latter resigned.

William II, having dropped the old pilot, enjoyed doing more of the guiding of the ship of state himself. Down to the outbreak of the Great War four chancellors succeeded in turn to Bismarck's office. First, Caprivi (1890-94) an ex-army man, rigidly militaristic in Views; then Prince Hohenloe (1894-1900), a liberal Catholic who had been ambassador in Paris; next Prince Von Bulow, a dexterous diplomatist and supporter of an adventurous policy; and lastly came Bethmann-Hollweg (1907-1917), an experienced officer but without any knowledge of foreign affairs. The constitution enabled the Emperor to make himself his own Chancellor. All took their cues from and were dominated by the will and personality of, the Emperor.

The opposition to the government came mostly from the socialists. The social Democrats desired not merely a revolution in the economic sphere but a change in the autocratic system of government. They attracted votes from many middle-class radicals as a party of reform and opposition. William II at first assumed a conciliatory attitude towards the socialists in order to kill them by kindness. But the socialists improved their organisation and increased their poll at every election. In 1895 the Reichstag rejected his proposed coercive measures. The Emperor had to be satisfied with oratorical denunciations of socialism. The socialists denounced the Emperor's aggressive militarism and in 1913 they were strong enough to secure a vote of no confidence in the Imperial Government. But the machinery was saved from confronting complications as a prelude to the First World War.

The growth of socialism was made possible by the phenomenal expansion of German industry and commerce. Agricultural Germany was transformed into an industrial

state. Economic life of the people was scientifically controlled and directed to the production of wealth. Bismarckian policy of protection attained its signal triumphs under William II. Coal mines developed in Ruhr, Silesia, the Saar and Lorraine. Her output of steel and iron increased as fast that by 1910 it was far greater than that of England and by 1914 it was second only to the U. S. A in steel production. The by-products of coal developed pharmaceutical aniline dyes productions. As her manufactures grew, so did her foreign trade and merchant-shipping. Hamburg became one of the great ports of the world.

The economic progress of Germany led to an increase in population attracting labourers from neighbouring states. Germany remained to a considerable extent self-supporting in food, protected by tariff. It marked the triumph of German capitalism and forced the ruling machinery to search for new markets all the world over. The mounting discontents of the labour class and the rapid growth of socialists left William II with only alternative to his position. Under the aggressive foreign policy aiming at the world war the Emperor tried to save his face.

William II discarded Bismarck's idea of Germany as a satiated country. To him Germany must emphasise her role as a World Power and take a leading part in "Welt Politik". "Nothing must go on any where in the world," he declared, "in which Germany does not play a part". To play this part Germany must have a navy and must acquire new colonies and spheres of influence. Thus "world politics, expansion and the navy became the three dominant notes of the Kaiser's foreign policy."

The army was increased in 1890-93 and 1913 and methods of warfare and weapons were modernised. The German methods of warfare became the model of the European states. But William II aspired to rival even Great Britain in the size and strength of armament on sea by saying "our failure lies on the water. The increase of the navy was justified by the rapid development of commerce and the growth of mercantile marine. He

acquired Heligoland in 1890 and established a naval base there. The completion of the Kiel canal by 1896 afforded a valuable strategic connection between the North Sea and the Baltic. Two great navy acts : 1898 and 1900 inaugurated a prodigious programme of naval construction and by 1906 the German naval power provoked the British competition.

Bismarck was primarily a continentalist. But William II with his ideas of world politics and world-traffic embarked upon a vigorous foreign policy. He began to develop the colonial empire built by Bismarck. Besides, Heligoland in the North Sea in 1897 he acquired Kiao-Chao from China. In 1899 the Caroline islands were purchased from Spain. In 1900 Germany acquired the two largest of the Samoan islands by an agreement with U. K. and U. S. A. In 1911 she acquired a large slice of the Congo rubber region from France under thinly veiled compulsion i. e., as the price of recognising interests in Morocco.

Having discarded Bismarck's policy of cautious continentalism William II adopted a policy of aggressive imperialism. He began to assert Germany's position as a world power. In 1895 he joined France and Russia in putting pressure upon Japan to give up her Chinese conquest. In 1897 he took advantage of the Chinese weaknesses to lease Kiao-Chow. In 1900 German troops co-operated with those of other powers in supporting the Boers' uprising in China. In 1899 she secured another foothold in Pacific by the purchase of the Caroline islands from Spain. In the Near East he strengthened Germany's economic grip on Turkey. He cultivated the goodwill of the Sultan when all Europe was shocked by the atrocities of the Turks in Armenia. In 1898 he made a spectacular journey to Syria, posed as the defender of Islam and secured the consent of the Porte to build the Berlin-Bagdad Railway. It opened the commercial penetration and political domination of Germany in the East and this outwitted England and Russia. In 1908 he forced Russia to accept Austrian aggression in the Balkans and allowed her to annex Bosnia

and Herzegovina. He tried to block French advance in Morocco and acquired the Congo region under veiled compulsion from France. Such an attitude evoked lively feelings of apprehension in Russia, France and Great Britain and led to the formation of armed camps leading to the war.

Such an ambitious policy involved the complete breakdown of Bismarck's system of alliances and led to diplomatic developments which were highly prejudicial to the German interest. The key-note of Bismarck's policy had been to isolate France and to keep Russia in good humour. But Kaiser wanted to strengthen the alliance with Austria at the cost of Russian friendship by supporting the Austrian interests in the Balkans. He allowed Bismarck's "reinsurance treaties" with Russia to lapse and drove Russia into the arms of France. Breaking her isolation France entered into the Dual Alliance with Russia in 1891-93. Another momentous departure from Bismarck's policy was the zeal with which the Emperor embarked upon the policy of naval and colonial expansion, Great Britain was disposed to be friendly to Germany as she had many outstanding causes of friction with France and Russia and she was suspicious of the Dual Alliance. She agreed to the Kaiser's proposal of ceding Heligoland to Germany in exchange for Zanzibar, encouraged German colonial enterprise in Central Africa and even proposed an Anglo-German alliance. But the anti-British attitude of the Kaiser manifested itself during the Boer war. The development of Bagdad railway involved a menace to the British interests in the East. Italy also showed symptoms of a considerable weakening in her adherence to the Triple Alliance. Thus as the results of mishandling of foreign affairs William II began to lose the safeguards which Bismarck had provided for the safety of the German empire. Thus formation of the triple Entente, and the Anglo-Russian convention greatly neutralised the importance of the Triple Alliance on which Bismarck had relied for Germany's security.

25. Q. (a) "The period before the First World War was called the period of armed peace"—Do you agree?

(b) Give a picture of the system of alliances and power blocks in the period before the First World War.

The system of alliance and Power-blocs :

From 1871 Bismarck felt that Germany was a satiated power and its main problem, therefore, was to preserve its gains and to maintain its new position. The danger came from France which was smarting under the loss of Alsace-Lorraine with their enormous strategic and economic values and thirsting for the revenge of the humiliation of 1871. But France alone was no danger to the mighty power of the new German empire with its much greater population, wealth and industrial potentiality. Therefore, the aim of Bismarck's policy after 1871 was to keep France isolated. In the two decades which followed German policy was, therefore, defensive and aimed at international peace. But, of course, the preservation of status quo in this period meant also the preservation of the new German ascendancy in all Europe.

The best possible ally for France would be the Russian Empire and, therefore, Bismarck as a 'real Politika' even encouraged the French Republicans rather than the monarchists in order to widen the gulf between France and autocratic Tsardom. And in 1872 he formed the Dreikaiserbund or three Emperor's League between Germany, Austria and Russia to preserve international peace and to check the revolutionary socialist forces already troubling the three emperors.

This new version of the Holy Alliance was, however, unstable because of the standing Austro-Russian tension in south-east Europe. Bismarck had even to give a secret pledge to back Austria in the Balkan as compensation for the Austrian losses in 1859 and 1860. Suspecting this secret understanding Russia was apt to be unfriendly.

This drift within the three Emperor's League was illus-

trated by the affair of 1875. Increase in the German armament in that year in the provision for the 'Fourth Battalion' led to threats of war from the German militarists to which publicity was given by Bismarck. France, therefore, sent a mission of appeal to the Tsar who went out of his way to intervene with the Kaiser to restrain the German militarists. The Russian minister Ochkov had on this occasion the satisfaction of publicly snubbing Bismarck.

The Dreikaiserbund was really shattered by the Eastern Questions in the crisis between 1875-78. In that crisis Austro-Russian tension mounted up culminating in the revision of the San Stefano treaty by the Berlin Congress. Russia felt deeply that Bismarck who claimed to be an honest broker was in reality in secret complicity with Austria. A furious Pan-Slav and anti-German campaign agitated Russia. About this time the Russian government sent a mission on a visit to Paris as a gesture.

Bismarck had now to choose definitely between his two Eastern neighbours inclined to be hostile to each other. He naturally chose Austria concluding the secret and close agreement of the dual alliance of 1879. The Austrian alliance gave the German Empire a consolidated interior line of defence and a solid Pan-German block with a thoroughly dependable ally. For the next generation this was to be the sheet-anchor of German policy.

The dual alliance was Bismarck's legacy even to his successors but in his life-time and unlike his successors he constantly strove to keep Russia also friendly in order to keep France isolated. This attempt showed Bismarck's eagerness for peace but in the face of Austro-Russian rivalry his policy could not succeed indefinitely. Similarly he wanted to cultivate English friendship but here also the objective clash between the German and English interests went on developing and a time came when this antagonism defeated the subjective goodwill of the diplomats. Bismarck's later policy was one of peace but peace could not be maintained indefinitely if Germany stood committed to European

hegemony and to capitalist greatness (industrial, commercial, colonial and naval race with England). The First World War developed with irresistible logic and its seeds lay in the Bismarckian settlement itself and in the Bismarckian economy.

But at any rate Bismarck tried his best to manipulate things in order to avert or postpone open international struggle. In 1882 he secured Italy in the Triple alliance. Italy joined the dual alliance because it felt deeply the French occupation of Tunis in 1881 which Italians themselves wanted and because it was useful to secure Austrian friendship to depend itself against the Vatican. The triple alliance, however, could never become solid like the Ausro-German alliance. It gave no satisfaction to Italian colonial and commercial ambitions and it was difficult for Italy and Austria to become good friends on account of the disputed irredenta territories. Thus the Triple Alliance was continued only on formal manner but Italy never became a positive source of strength to Germany.

Bismarck tried further to strengthen his system by friendly overtures to Russia and even concluded with it the Reinsurance Treaty of 1884. This fact could not be renewed latter.

Personally Bismarck had no colonial ambitions but the growing industrial and business interests at home forced him to acquire in 1884-85 Togoland, the Cameroons and the S. W. Africa to be followed latter by E. Africa. He was, however, anxious to avoid open breach with Britain and German reasonableness was shown at the International Congo Conference, 1885 and the Zanzibar Agreement with Britain in 1890. As in his relation with Britain Bismarck was trying to ward off the evil days.

Russian friendship was virtually lost in the clash over Bulgaria in 1885-86. And thus in 1887 was again urgently sent by the Tsar to conclude a pact with France while in France General Bulanger echoed this sentiment. In 1887 the Tsar befriended France for the second time when his personal intercession with the Kaiser secured the release of

a French officer (Schnabel) arrested by the German on the Alsace-border.

The storms passed over for the time being the Schnabel affair on the one hand and the Slavophil-Bulganger agitation on the other. But the future was ominous and in a famous speech in 1888 Bismarck proclaimed the Austrian alliance to be the pivot of German safety.

With the accession of militant kaiser William II the gulf between Germany and Russia widened. On the other hand, the Hoskier Note of 1888 was the beginning of close economic ties between Russia and France. Surplus French capital was now strengthening Tsarist armaments, railways and industry,

Uneasiness increased with the fall of Bismarck in 1890 and next year the French fleet paid a ceremonial visit to the Russian ports prepared the ground of a new alliance.

The new dual alliance between France and Russia was concluded after the return visit of the Russian fleet in 1863 and the open acknowledgement of the alliance by diplomats in 1895. What Bismarck had tried to prevent had at last come to reality. It is argued that it could not have been prevented but only delayed by the jealous diplomacy of the Iron Chancellor.

The same applies to the development of the Anglo-German antagonism which is the next great landmark. German capitalism was driven by its own logic to emerge as the challenger of British monopoly. The natural aspirations of a young rising capitalist state was expressed by William II's slogan of German's place "under the sun". The equally natural fear of the old threatened rival was reflected by the English fear of the navy made in Germany. The Kiel canal of 1895 doubled German naval mobility. In 1896 the Kaiser proclaimed 'welt politik' to be Germany's aim. Already in 1805 Germany intervened in China to stop Japan and in 1900 it took a leading role of in the Boxer expedition. Kiao-chou became the German base controlling the Chinese province of Shantung. In 1896 the Kaiser encouraged the Boxers defying the British in south Africa (The Cruger Telegraph) and

during the Boxer War (1899—1900) the Boxers received much German sympathy. The German Navy League 1898 started the naval race. The German Navy League and Colonial League carried on frenzied activities. In 1898 the Kaiser visited Turkey, honoured Saladin's Tomb and appeared as a protecting ally of Pan-Islamism. The Berlin-Bagdad railway project taking shape in 1902 showed that Germany had replaced Russia as Turkish guardian. Patriotic propaganda in the schools, press and literature reached feverish heights in the German Empire. Inevitable outcome of the radical nationalism was an increase in armaments and aggressive militarism.

The British response to the challenge was slow but sure. One type of attempt was made to try an understanding with Germany (The policy of Chamberlain). This was spoilt by the logic of conflicting interests. As the danger deepened the traditional British policy of splendid isolation since the Crimean War began to lose its splendour and the British government began to search for allies.

Between 1902 and 1907 British policy was revolutionised under the pressure of the fear of Germany by three agreements. Lord Lansdown, the foreign secretary broke the British isolation by the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 which promised mutual help if either party was attacked by more than one enemy. This was more useful to Japan than to England and enabled Japan to fight Russia alone in the Russo-Japanese War. In 1904 Lansdown and Delcasse concluded the Anglo-French agreement which was described as an entente rather than an alliance. The long standing quarrels between England and France which as late as 1898 had actually threatened war (Fasoda incident) were now patched up in face of the common enemy, Germany. France allowed England a free hand in Egypt and received from England a free-hand in Morocco. Finally in 1907 England concluded another entente with Russia already the ally of France. Here also long-standing rivalries in Central Asia, the near East and the far East were patched up on the face of common German danger. Thus

arose on the ruins of British isolationism the edifice of Triple Entente facing Bismarck's Triple Alliance.

Between 1907 and 1914 the main fact was the strengthening of the Triple Entente which inspite of its name became a solid block as revealed by the joint stand in 1811 in Morocco over the Agadir crisis. At the same time the Triple alliance was becoming weaker as Italy careered upon its own and embarked on an attack on Turkey (1911) to the embarrassment of its allies.

But the corpse of the Austro-German alliance was as firm as ever. This was shown by the German support for Austria in the annexation of Bosnia 1908 and the joint activity in the Balkan War (1912—13). And as we move towards the climax of 1914 we have to know that the old and the new antagonisms continued to gather strength (the Franco-German and the Austro-Russian antagonisms which together produced the dual alliances of 1879—1894 and the Anglo-German antagonisms which explains the Triple Entente.)

26. Q. (a) What are the causes of the First World War ?

(b) Discuss how the spectacular emergence of Germany as a military power was responsible for the First World War ?

(c) How far England was responsible for the World War ?

[N. B.—You are to summarise the main points in the answer to question no. 25]

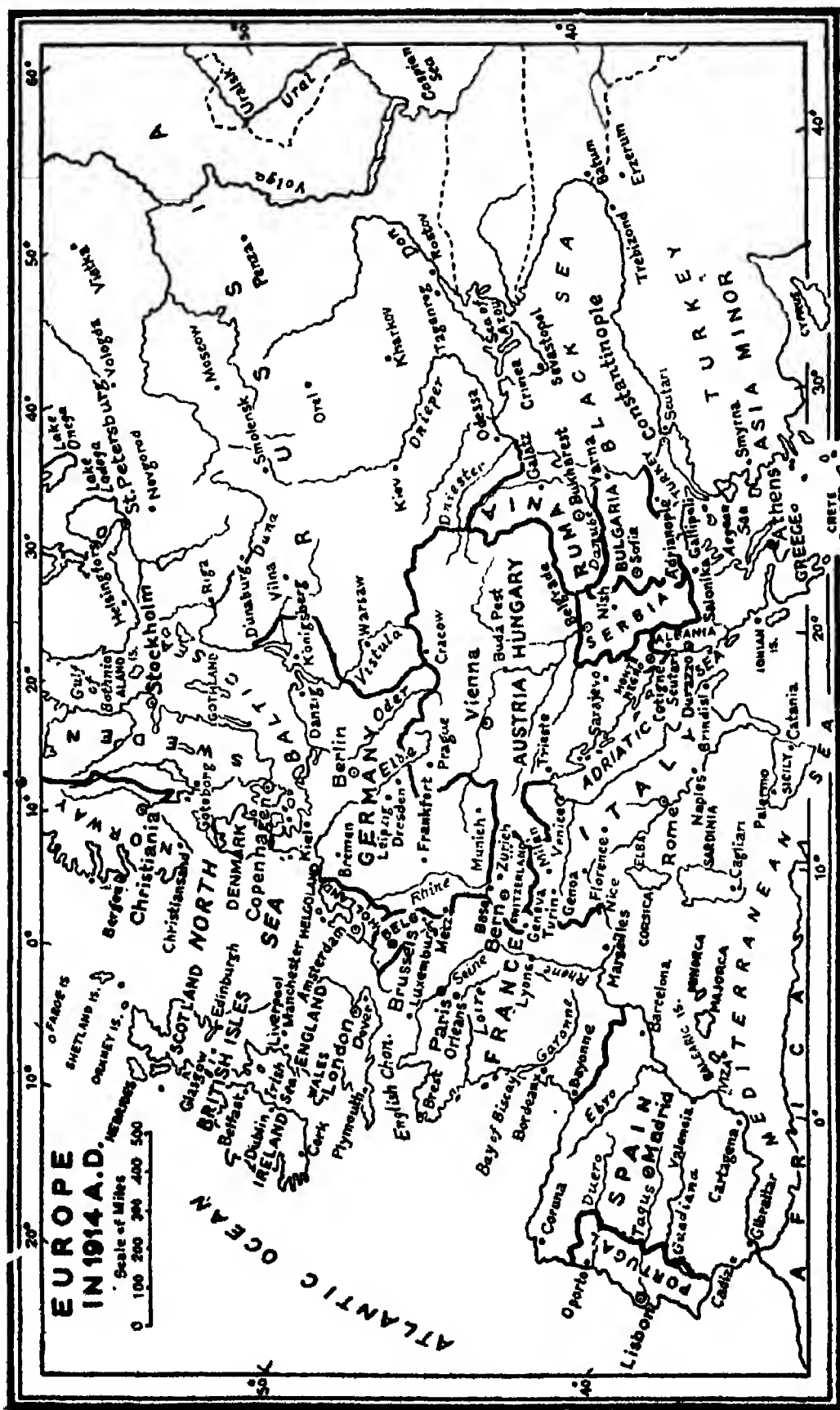
The Great War was caused by the murder of Archduke at Serajevo. Serbia was held responsible. Austria delivered an ultimatum to Serbia demanding the most humiliating conditions and requiring her to accept it within 48 hours. Russia was drawn to the field to protect the Slav subjects of Serbia. Germany came to the rescue of Austria.

Moreover, events outside Europe influenced the course of the European politics leading to the First World War.

First the Boer War of 1899—1902 produced a tension of feeling between England and Germany as the latter sympathised with the Boers. England was thus forced to abandon her policy of isolation. She made up her differences with France and formed with her the Entente Cordiale. Secondly, the Russo-Japanese war led to the important developments in the European politics. It diminished Russian prestige and influence in Europe by weakening her internal strength. It enabled Japan to contest her strength with Germany in the Far East. Thirdly, the Moroccan crisis increased the Franco-German rivalry. Morocco became a French protectorate by 1912. Fourthly, the British occupation of Egypt was a source of continuous friction between France and Britain. Britain extended her control over the Sudan. The friction reached a critical stage when the French sought to control the valley of the upper Nile. France sent Capt. Marchand to explore the upper Nile who raised a flag at Fashoda. Britain promptly warned him to withdraw. This led to a serious tension of feeling though in the end the dispute was settled by agreement. Fifthly, the French occupation of Tunis threw Italy into the arms of Germany and led to the formation of Triple alliance.

But it was the culmination of the nationalist developments of the last two decades which was responsible for the war. Extreme national pride of Germany with her territorial satiety to become a world power alarmed other European powers. Rapid industrialisation and increase in armaments roused suspicions. But Germany found herself thwarted in every direction. Emergence of Germany destroyed the European balance of power.

Germany's interests in the Near East was a threat to her neighbouring great powers. She supported Austrian aggression in the Balkans. Italy guided by the motive for colonial expansion led her to join hands with Germany and Austria. This led to the formation of power blocks. Isolation of France was broken. Weak Russia being thwarted by Germany in the Near East embraced the French alliance. England also joined France and Russia to



retain her commercial predominance and balance of power.

[See also answer to questions nos 23, 24, 25]

The war was the product of the Austro-Serbian and Anglo-German rivalry. Austria resolved to stop expansion of Serbia. Her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 in distinct violation of the Treaty of Berlin and the active part she took in the creation of Albania were all meant to prevent Serbia from getting any outlet to the sea.

[See also the answer to question no. 22]

It was also a product of the Anglo-German rivalry for commercial prominence. This increased German militarism threatened territorial security of Great Britain and jeopardised her trade interest in Europe and all the world over. She made up her differences with France and Russia formed the Triple entente. Germany became suspicious of encirclement. Germany held Great Britain responsible for blocking her right to have a place under the Sun. In the Near East she supported Austria and exploited the situation to further her own ends.

[See also the answer to question no. 25]

England tried to maintain peace. But Germany's invasion of the neutral Balkan in gross violation of international law and she was the traditional protector of the integrity of the countries for ages and lastly, invasion of Belgium threatened her territorial security lest Germany might use it as a base of operation againsts England—all these considerations ended the British neutrality.

27 Q. (a) How far is it true to say that the treaty of Versailles (1919) sowed the seeds of World War II?

(b) "The war to end war simply created causes for new wars." Do you agree with this criticism of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles?

(c) Can you justify the conduct of the allies?

(d) Discuss the main provisions of the Versailles settlements.

The Peace Conference of Paris and Versailles, 1919.

The chapter of the First World War was brought to a

close by the Versailles settlements. The object of the treaties were (1) to arrange terms of peace with Germany and the defeated allies, (2) to redistribute territories on the basis of national self-determination and of nationality and (3) to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity of states.

Of the leading allied powers Great Britain was represented by Lloyd George, France by Clemenceau, the United States by President Wilson and Italy by Orlando. The Big Four became three after the withdrawal of Orlando. Clemenceau, the ablest diplomat dominated the field with a view to secure the safety of France and to wreak vengeance on Germany. A high-minded idealist Wilson was bent on founding the League of Nations for promoting mutual co-operation and the cause of peace. He provided the "Fourteen Points" and outlined the basis of a peace settlement.

The Treaty of Versailles, 1919 was dictated to Germany. First, territorial losses. By it Germany surrendered Alsace-Lorraine to France and agreed to give her the right to exploit the coal-fields of the Saar valley for a term of years. To Belgium Germany ceded the areas of Eupen and Malmedy: in the north, Denmark regained Schleswig. Germany lost a portion of West Prussia to form a Polish corridor to the Baltic, the port of Danzig was internationalised. Poland also got the best portion Silesia. Secondly, in addition to territorial losses in Europe Germany had to part with her overseas domain. She had to renounce all right to her African colonies and to all holdings and privileges in China. These states formed mandatories of the League of Nations. Thirdly, it sought to destroy German militarism by reducing the military strength of Germany. It was arranged to reduce the strength of the navy and army, to abolish conscription, to restrict the production of war materials, to dismantle fortifications of Heligoland and to throw open the Kiel canal to all nations. Fourth, Germany had to accept "warguilt". A huge war-indemnity was imposed upon her and the allied armies



AFRICA IN 1914

were to occupy the left bank of the Rhine until the terms of the Treaty were carried out." The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria dismembered the empire. Thus the Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Moravia were formed into a new state called Czecho-Slovakia. Serbia was named Yugo-slavia adding Bosnia and Herzegovina to her territory. Hungary was separated from Austria. Austria ceded to Italy, the south Tyrol, the Trentino etc. and to Poland Austrian Galicia.

Treaty of Trianon, 1920—Hungary was deprived of her non-magyar subjects and lost all access to sea. By the treaty of Severs Turkey had to renounce all her rights in her former African possessions, as well in Syria, Palestine etc. Greece enlarged her territories with eastern Thrace. Turkey was subjected to crushing debts and organised foreign control. Nothing remained of once mighty Ottoman Empire except Constantinople and the mountainous Anatolia. The nationalist headed by Mustafa Kemal refused to ratify the the Treaty though the Sultan signed it.

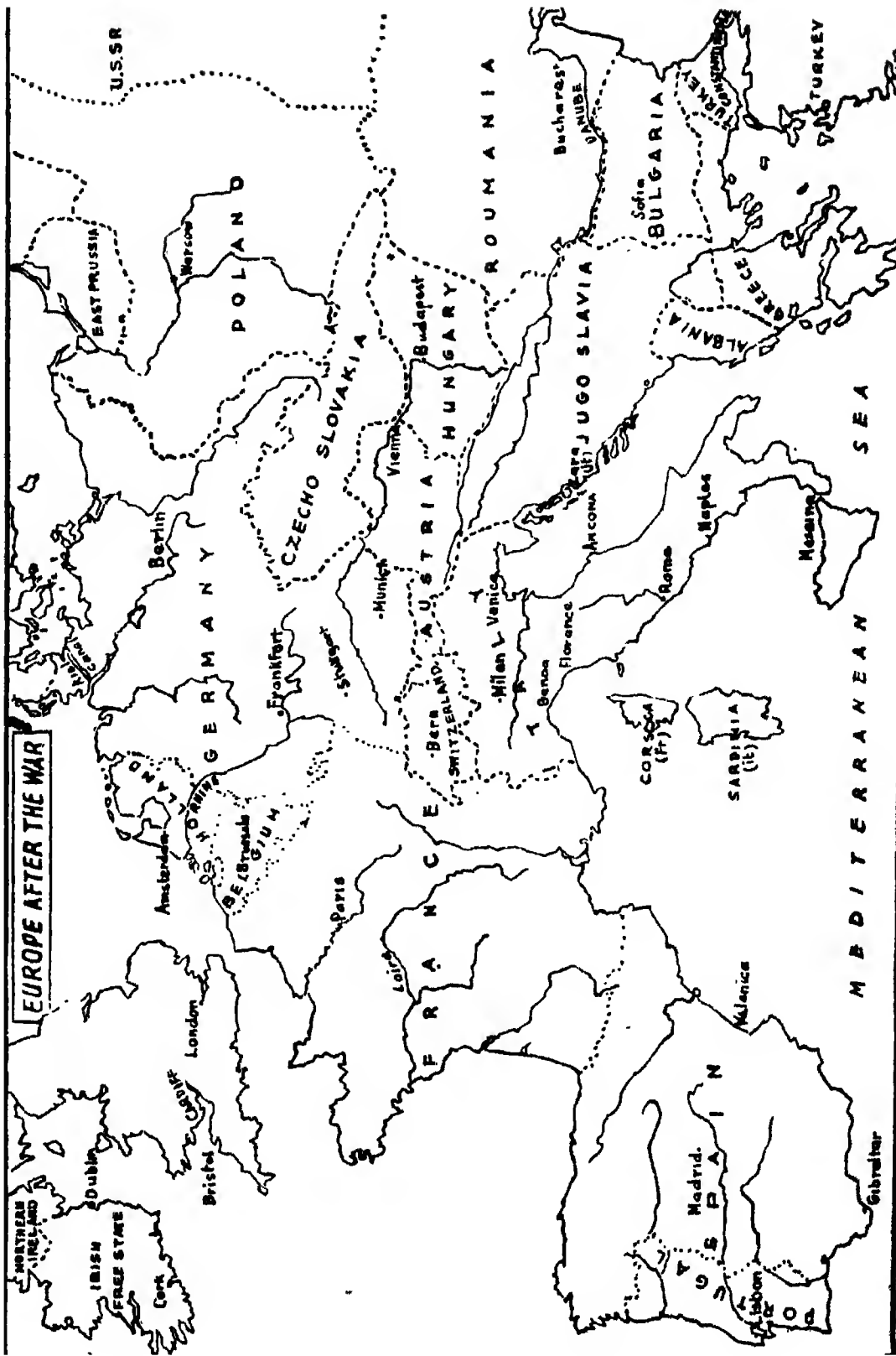
Criticism of the settlement :

The Versailles settlements were subjected to severe criticisms by the historians. It was said that the territorial rearrangement was made on the basis of the principle of nationality and self-determination. But this principle could not be consistently acted upon and it was found impossible to avoid leaving Germans under Slavs as in Bohemia and of Slavs under Italians as in Dalmatia. Second, in the "succession" states set up by the powers there was acute minority problem. Thirdly, outside Europe the system of mandates is distinctly opposed to self-determination. Fourth, at the peace conference two ideas were struggling for mastery and the selfish war-aims of the allies defeated the idealistic principles of reconstruction and swept aside all considerations of impartial distribution of justice. Fifth, the terms were too hard for the defeated parties and characterised by vindictiveness. Sixth, although the principle of nationality was invoked as the basis of the settlement it was carried out at the expense of the defeated nations

in favour of the victorious ones. The colonies of Germany and outlying territories of Turkey went to swell the possessions of the big allied powers. And lastly, the Treaty of Versailles contained the germs of another war. (1) The imposed terms were staggering in their severity and impossible of fulfilment. She was stripped of her armaments and deprived of her colonies and all interests and trading privileges outside her boundary. (ii) A heavy war indemnity was imposed and the scheme was to keep her in perpetual subjection, (iii) The terms betrayed a lack of sincerity and good faith on the part of victorious powers. Germany was compelled to grant economic concessions to the Allies without reciprocity. Her colonies were mandated to them but no obligation was taken for their good government. (iv) The principles of nationality and of self-determination were ignored with regard to Austria and Germany. Lastly, Germany contended that she had laid down her arms in the hope that her action would be followed by a general limitation of the armaments of all nations proposed by Wilson's Fourteen Points. But the allied powers did nothing in that direction. But the moral defects of the Treaty are no more glaring than the practical. (vi) It is idle to think that Germany would remain in perpetual subjection and that Belgium should be superior to Germany as a military power. Moreover, (vii) the creation of the Polish corridor and the cession to Poland of the industrial area of Silesia were offensive to German pride. (viii) And while a huge indemnity was imposed on Germany, her natural resources were materially reduced. This was serious obstacle to national recovery. Europe had not been made safe for democracy. The consequent world-wide slump led to the emergence of military dictatorships in Europe.

Justification of the conduct of the allies :

The Peace was concluded in an atmosphere in which passions were high and the feeling against Germany was very bitter. Hence, it was natural for them to be hard and vindictive. Moreover, the conflicting difficulties and the numberless compli-



cated problems of the peace-makers must not be forgotten nor their anxiety to preserve at least an outward appearance of harmony¹ among themselves, nor the bitterness of spirit bred in those lands occupied by the enemy. Second, the allied powers devoid of prophetic vision could not anticipate future. What seems natural at a later date is projected to a former period. As Ketelbey remarks, "it is given to few Congresses to legislate for a century". Third, Besides they thought that Germany deserved no considerations and mercy in view of the fact that recently when she was victorious against Russia, she had imposed an outrageous peace upon the latter by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Moreover, Bismarck imposed a severe treaty of Frankfurt on France in 1872 after the fall of Louis Napoleon. Fourth, the allies had many conflicting interests to reconcile and were handicapped by previous pledges and treaties in order to strengthen their coalition against the Central Powers. On two occasions, in December 1916 and January 1917 the allies had declared their demands in general terms and the secret treaties published by the Soviet Government revealed that certain members were bound by individual agreements. Thus Shantung had been promised to Japan, "the unredeemed lands" to Italy, Constantinople to Tsarist Russia. There was an Anglo-French Treaty concerning certain spoils of Arabia. By these treaties many states were brought to the war by liberal promises of territorial gains. Fifth, a better settlement could have been hardly adopted by a conference controlled by three victorious powers, England, France, and the United States whose economic and political systems were seriously challenged by the German militarism. Sixth, the minority problem was a complex one. This was due to the fact that there were nationalities so badly situated or so intermingled with one another that it was practically impossible to draw satisfactory lines of demarcation. Seventh, the Fourteen Points formulated by Wilson were not merely pious wishes. They were sought to be put into practice as they would make for a just and lasting peace founded upon an impartial respect for the wishes of the people and a

universal domain of right". This was manifested in the mandatory states and in the creation of new states on the basis of nationality, such as Czecho-Slovakia or Yugo-Slavia etc. The system of plebiscite was a manifestation of respect for peoples' wishes. Eighth, it marked a step towards international cooperation and mutual understanding through the League of Nations. Definite progress was made towards banning war and disarmament. International Labour Organisation aimed at dealing with all kinds of labour disputes referred to it by the Council. All these attempts bear full fruits after the second World War when the United Nations was organised.

28. Q. (a) Write a note on the League of Nations. What are the achievements of the League of Nations ?
(b) Account for the failure of the League of Nations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS :—

The 19th century was a period that witnessed increasing international co-operation for maintaining peace and friendly relations among states. The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, no doubt worked for peace but on the face of strong national sentiment, lack of adequate machinery to enforce its decision and in absence of its true international character the peace movements collapsed. With the treaties of Versailles international organization got a clear shape in the League of Nations. Very soon the United States was excluded in spite of Wilson's endeavour to establish a lasting peace as well as Germany and her satellites and the U. S. S. R. The membership was open to all who would abide by its rules and who could procure the consent of 2/3 majority. There were some provisions concerning withdrawal and expulsion from membership.

The League consisted of three organs : Assembly, Council and a permanent Secretariat. Every member had a seat in the Assembly but no clear division of work existed between two bodies. Unanimous vote for important matters and in matters of procedure single majority was necessary

among the members. The Council consisted of eight members, among them England, France, Italy and Japan became permanent. The Permanent Secretariat was fixed at Geneva.

The League was set up to encourage mutual understanding and to avert the source of war and to limit the race of armament production. By articles 12 to 15 emphasis was laid on the pacific settlement of disputes. The Permanent Court of justice was established at Hague. Article 16 empowered the League to enforce its decision by armed force. Thus it curtailed the unrestricted sovereign right of states to declare war. The League Covenant recognised regional understandings like Monroe doctrine for furtherance of the cause of peace. The colonies of Germany and Turkey would be governed as mandated states by article 22 by agreement among members.

The League of Nations had some achievements to its credit. First, from 1919 to 1935 the League was responsible for maintaining peace and status quo all the the world over. Article 15 provided for judicial settlement of disputes and, article 16 was a safeguard against an aggressor state. In 1928 Kellogg-Briand pact was concluded by which Germany and France signed and agreed to refrain from aggression. Second, under the auspices of the League attempts were made for disarmament. By the Washington Conference 1921-22 the Pacific ocean was safeguarded from the Japanese aggression. In 1932-33 the world Disarmament Conference ended in a fiasco due to the German protest. Thirdly, the League endeavoured for amicable settlement of disputes. The frontier dispute between Irak and Turkey, the conflict between Greece and Bulgaria, the impending struggle between Lithuania and Poland and such like disputes were settled by the League. In 1925 by the Locarno Pact signatory powers like Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland agreed to refrain from war before the dispute is settled amicably. Fourth, the League marked a big step forward to-wards inevitable decline of colonialism. The System of mandatory states paved the way for Trusteeship Council

of the United Nations. Fifth, the League stood for settling the problems of the minority population through the Court of Justice. By 1927 disputes of 26 cases were amicably settled as was the case with Dantzic and the Saar valley. Sixth, the League promoted mutual co-operation and understanding on the cultural plain. The germs of ILO and UNESCO were contained in the League. It had positive effect on lessening the tension of war and increasingly recognising peoples as the subjects of international law. And lastly, the League endeavoured to wipe out slavery of all kinds, had done its best for emancipation of womanhood, social upliftment of backward classes and settlement of labour problems etc.

But the League was doomed to failure due to some of its inherent weaknesses. The occasions of its fall were invasions of Manchuria by Japan and that of Abyssinia by Italy and the disrespect shown by those two signatory states to the decision of the League. According to Riker its weakness lies in its experimental character. It was a defeat of international spirit before the dominant note of territorial sovereignty. The defects are not far to seek. It had no international representation due to difficulties in new admission. While the United States and Germany remained outside it Japan and Italy withdrew from it by threat of war. Membership was not thrown open to all. In fact the League was dominated by England and France. Second, the provision of liberum Veto or unanimous vote in matters of procedure rendered the member-states helpless for reaching a solution. Third, article 16 was difficult to enforce in practice. Japan invaded Manchuria but the League dared not to enforce compulsive methods against her. Italy invaded Abyssinia and though she was declared an aggressor the sanction did not work for illicit supply of arms by France to the aggressor. Fourth, the League committed a blunder by recognising regional understandings like Monroe doctrine. It was neither based upon treaty rights nor it promoted peace. Later on Japan took its opportunity to extend her sphere of influence over the

Pacific area. Fifth, the lack of sincerity on the part of the signatory states was revealed in the breakdown of disarmament Conference. Mutual jealousy and suspicion stood on the way of mutual understanding. Lastly, the League was seriously handicapped by the absence of military machinery and adequate legal conventions to enforce its actions.

29. Q. Discuss the circumstances leading to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

[N. B. With this you are to add some points from the answer to question no. 17. See the note titled Russia in 1815 in this answer]

The Marxian teachings were first attempted to be put into action by the November Revolution 1917 in Russia. The general causes were analogous to those of the French Revolution. But the specific causes were intermixed with each other. The general causes are. (a) Degeneration of the monarchical power ; (b) grievances of the subjects : political, social above all economic ; (c) intellectual movements and (d) demand for money for foreign wars. These general causes were also present in the French Revolution. But it secured the triumph of the principles of nationality and democracy. The Russian revolution brought in socialism in the arena of politics and aimed at regeneration of political, social and economic structure of the Revolution.

As in France the government was autocratic without being efficient. The Russian Tsars like Alexander III or Nicholas II were lacking in foresight and wealth. The king was controlled by Czarina, Rasputin and the like vested interests. The bureaucracy was corrupted, incompetent and oppressive. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War and in the Russo-Japanese war had revealed the incompetence of the Czarist regime. Policy of repression and Russification provoked tremendous agitation at home. Second, as in France the social order in Russia was marked by a wide cleavage between the upper and the lower classes. The greater portion of land was owned by the nobility who also filled most of the offices of the state. They enjoyed social, and

political privileges, paid no taxes but they had no considerable obligation to discharge. The emancipated serfs could not improve their economic condition due to governmental repression. Thirdly, the grievances of the subject population was the major cause of the Revolution. The middle class resented the social, political and economic injustice of the government. The people wanted bread, land and peace. The urban working-class demanded for nationalisation and humane legislation for labour. The Jews and subject-nationalities were embittered by the policy of Russification and oppression. Fourth, the political Revolution was preceded by a revolution in the economic and intellectual fields. With the rapid industrialisation towns multiplied and factories began to spring up. Capitalists and urban proletariat arose. With them also arose new problems of factory life and the new outlook of the town-workers. The strengthening position of the lower middle-class joined hands with a revolution in the realm of ideas. In spite of Slavophil agitations and reactionary policy of the Tsars liberal and radical ideas of the west penetrated in Russia. As in France these new influences found expression in literature. The great novels of Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky profoundly stirred the imagination of young Russia. The intelligentsia demanded political reforms on western lines. Nihilism aimed at destroying everything in the existing order of Russia. Fifth, spread of socialism prepared the ground for the revolution. Teachings of Marx and Engels were popularised. Revolutionary socialism made rapid progress among factory workers. In 1895 was founded the Workmen's Social Democratic Party. In 1901 was organised a Social Revolutionary Party that included the confiscation and socialisation of means of productions. In 1903 there came a split in the Social Democratic Party on the questions of the party discipline and tactics. Its radical section under Lenin formed the Bolsheviks while the Mensheviks became the moderate socialists. The socialist ideas penetrated within the mass of the people by efficient propaganda. Its impact also produced tremendous

influence on the military department, already exhausted of unproductive warfares. And lastly, the governmental paralysis leading to the revolution took place with the defeat in the foreign wars. Japan defeated her in 1905 and Germany threatened her territorial integrity in the First World War.

Nicholas II joined the First World War with capitalist countries, The Russian Duma supported him. But the Leftist Social Revolutionary and Marxist Social Democratic parties gave no vote in their war-budget but helped Tsar in war. From the middle of 1915 the Leftists and centrists demanded for administrative reforms. At the instigation of the Tsarina and Rasputin Nicholas took drastic steps against them. The Duma was dissolved. Nicholas himself took the lead of the army. In 1916 Rasputin was murdered. Internal distress and war abroad prepared the ground for the Revolution. On 8th march, 1917 a food-riot began in St. Petersburg. March Revolution was accomplished without able leadership because the socialists were divided into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks while the leaders of the former were outside Russia. The army joined the insurgents on 12th march. On 14th march Tsar agreed to summon the responsible ministry but the time had expired. The soviets of the socialist workers were organised. A temporary government was established and Duma decided that a constituent assembly would be summoned to form a constitution. Lvov formed the ministry with Kerensky. Nicholas abdicated the throne but nobody agreed to ascend it. On 20th march Tsar and the Tsarina Alexandra were arrested. But the temporary ministry was a complete failure under pressure of mass movements and problems of war. The Soviets became all powerful. Lenin returned from Switzerland with the help of the Germans. They wanted to cripple the Russians in the war-front. He established the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party and Trotsky resented this leadership. Prince Lvov gave way for the rise of Kerensky. For a time Kerensky roused the enthusiasm of the army and organised a sensational offensive.

against the Germans in Galicia. But the soldiers influenced by the pacifist propaganda of the Bolsheviks refused to fight. General Kornilov attempted an ineffective counter revolution, Germany captured Riga and threatened Petrograd itself. Lenin and Trotsky came to control the Petrograd soviet and on 7th November, 1917 by a coup d'état overthrew the provisional government. Kerensky fled away and Bolshevik revolution was an accomplished fact. The Council of Public Commissars was organised. Lenin became the President. Universal adult franchise determined the people's assembly. Bolsheviks obtained the 1/4 of the total vote. On 18th February, 1918 the parliament was summoned but was dissolved from the start. They proceeded to consolidate their work. As they were yet only a minority of the population they would try to secure the 'wili generale'. They wanted to apply Marxism in the administrative machinery and to stop war. The Treaty of Brest Litovsk was concluded with Germany and her allies on 3rd march 1918. It was a humiliating treaty, involving as it did, the loss of almost all the territories so far acquired by Russia. Lenin began his internal administration by giving effect to the principles of Marxian socialism. He abolished all private property and gave land to the peasants to be cultivated for the benefit of the state. Factories and workshops were seized by the state without compensation and handed over to the management of workers. Labour was made compulsory for all citizens. All public debts were repudiated. The orthodox church was disestablished. But such drastic steps provoked tremendous agitations at home. But the Bolsheviks, like the Jacobins of France adopted terrorist methods against the counter-revolutions. The Cheka became the committee of Public Safety which broke the back bone of the bourgeoisie-class. Nicholas and the members of his family were shot dead in July 1918. The allied powers now proceeded to intervene in Russia for the repudiation of foreign debt and in alarm for a socialist revolution in their own states and to prevent Germany from exploiting the disturbed situation in Russia. The

Cossacks were encouraged to revolt led first by Kornilov, then by Denikin and finally by Wrangel. Poland declared war against Russia. But the Bolsheviks, however, pulled through all these troubles and several causes contributed to their triumph. First, there was great deal of dissension in the ranks of the counter-revolutions. Second, the peasants supported the new government for fear of the return of landlords. And lastly, the allied intervention was inadequate and half-hearted and they withdrew forces in 1919. Deprived of foreign military support and torn by dissension among themselves, the anti-Bolsheviks were no match for the Red Army organised by Trotsky. Poland was compelled to come to terms.

The political structure of Soviet Russia was determined by a constitution promulgated in 1918. Every city and country district were to have a Soviet or council of workman. These local Soviets chose delegates to represent them in the provincial Soviets. Out of these Soviets was chosen the All Russian Congress of Soviets which was invested with supreme power. This national congress was to elect a Central Executive Committee which in its turn chose the council or cabinet of ministers or Peoples' Commissars. For Soviet elections the franchise was granted to all citizens of eighteen years, provided they earned their living by productive labour. But the power was denied to the clergy, nobility and the upper bourgeoisie. The U. S. S. R. was established. The real control over Russia rests with the Communist Party. Bolshevism is both a political and economic movement. In the economic field they applied the Marxian philosophy. It sought to overthrow the social order based upon capitalism. This implies the abolition of all private capital and the nationalisation of land and other instruments of production. But their economic programme put communism to a severe test. The discontent of the peasantry led to the great famine in 1921. Due to inefficiency in organisation industrial output became lowered and the anarchical elements reigned supreme in

towns. The threatened break down of the railway system also aggravated the situation. Shortage of food and diminishing industrial output caused acute distress. Lenin was compelled to proclaim the New economic Policy. It was a strategic retreat from Marxian Communism and involved a compromise between socialism and capitalism. First, the requisition of food stuffs from the peasants was abandoned and they were required to pay a fixed tax instead. Second, private enterprise on a small scale was allowed, nationalisation being applied only to big industries and public utilities. Third, to secure liquid capital, profit-sharing concessions were allowed to foreign capitalists for large-scale agricultural and engineering projects but the state retained the option of purchasing the products of such concerns. Fourthly, private retail trading was permitted under certain restrictions but the state set up retail stores of its own by way of competition and encouraged consumers co-operative societies. The experiments of NEP stimulated production and saved the government. Lenin's death in 1924, however, opened a new chapter in the Russian history.

30. Clearly discuss the landmarks in the history of socialism in the 19th century.

Modern socialism took its rise from France and still more from the Industrial Revolution. After 1815 socialism was first erected into a theory by the the utopian socialists, St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen and others. The utopians exposed the evils of capitalism and held up the idea of a new society. But they had little idea about the way to bring about the change to socialism and kept aloof from a movement of the oppressed working-class. Yet parallel to utopian theorising the working-class movement arose in England, France and Germany as shown by the organisation of Trade Unions and industrial strikes.

The working-class movement first assumed a formidable character in the English chartism (1836-48) and in the

French social Democracy leading up to the revolution of 1848. The powerful mass-movements aimed at political democracy as a means to achieve social revolution and in spite of all confusions were socialistic in tone.

The real function between the working-class movement and the socialist theory was affected by Marx and Engels in their activities and writings since the manifesto of 1848. They replaced the utopian theory by what was called scientific socialism and gave to the working-class movements its final ends, programme and principal tactics.

The failure of 1848 revolution and specially of the June days in Paris along with the collapse of chartism led to a period of inactivity for sometime. In the fifties, however, English trade unionism was firmly established on an impregnable though conservative basis—the new model of 1851. In the field of thought Marx and Engels continued their academic work culminating in the analysis of capitalist economy in the remarkable *Das Capital* of 1867.

In 1864 Marx took the lead in organising the First International which was a platform for all working-class and allied organisations. For the next decade the International tried to direct the movement in different countries supported, for example, by Paris Commune in 1871. The International broke down because of the internal troubles between the socialists and anarchists led by Bakunin and his followers. Parallel to International there was a revival of French socialism culminating in the Commune of 1871. In Germany the working-class party was organised in 1863 by Ferdinand Lassalle. The Lassallians departed in many things from socialist ideas and his second German socialist movement was organised by the followers of Marx, Liebknecht and Bebel at Eisenach in 1863. In 1875 the two German parties the Lassallians and the Marxists were United at Gotha and thus arose the mighty German social democratic party. Its growth was so phenomenal that Bismarck was alarmed and for ten years from 1878 Bismarck tried to destroy social democracy. His policy was two-fold—repressive legislation to crush socialist propaganda and

secondly, the so-called policy of killing socialism with kindness, the social legislation of the eighties (The sickness insurance, the accident benefits and the old-age pension). Bismarck's admirers claimed these legislations as "state-socialism" sometimes called "socialism of the chair". The only result was three-fold increase in the strength of German socialism in ten years. From 1907 reaction had set in under Stolypin in Russia. He laboured to introduce the measures of reform. He put down disturbances with a heavy hand and at the sametime sought to conciliate the working-class and peasantry. He allowed the peasants to be owners of land detaching themselves from the Mirs, legalised trade-unions and introduced a general scheme of workingmen's insurance. Thus after the end of the First International socialist mass parties were being built up in different countries, the most spectacular being the German example. Hardly noted at the time but significant for the future was the Russian social democratic movement, the foundations of which were led by Plekhanov's emancipation of labour bureau in 1883 and Lenin's League of Struggles in 1895,

By the time of the death of Marx in 1883 social democratic parties accepting the Marxist ideology had arisen in different countries with considerable strength. In 1889 these parties came together in Second International placed by Engels. Unlike the First the Second International was not a directive central authority but a periodical conference and discussion for exchange of ideas and mutual encouragement. Still the periodic congresses attracted the attention of all and the national movements went on developing. By the time of death of Engels in 1895 the International socialist movement had acquired great strength.

The leading socialist parties of German social democracy entered upon a crisis soon after Engel's death. There rose in its ranks a new trend known as revisionism which argued that the teachings of Marx were becoming out of date and a socialist theory should, therefore, be revised. The majority of the German Committee rejected revisionism openly and in

reality revisionism deeply penetrated the German movement with increasing force. The revisionism soon became an international force and affected more or less every socialist party. Marxist critics argued that revisionism was the effect of the new stage in capitalist development, namely imperialism, on the working-class movement. It is, indeed, noticeable that revision was strongest in the more prosperous countries and the revisionist had little sympathy for the colonial subjects of imperialism.

The International tendency of revisionism to the socialist movement suffered its first major defeat in Russian social democracy where the majority of the party Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership took their stand on Marx's teachings and defeated the Mensheviks who sympathised with Kerensky. The Bolsheviks also succeeded in winning the national leadership in 1917 revolution and afterwards.

Quite at the other extreme was the emergence of another socialist party in England. Towards the end of the 13th century a native kind of English socialism was put forward by the Fabians who emphasised gradual change rather than revolution and rejected Marxian teachings. The Fabians were intellectuals and mere propagandists but an actual party was founded in 1893 and the Independent Labour Party was established in 1903. But the main strength of the English working-class movement continued to be the Trade Unions many of which were radicalised after the New Unionism of 1889. The trade unions took the lead in establishing the Labour Party in 1900 which was joined by the Fabian and the I. L. P. socialists. Much later on the Labour party accepted socialism as its role but unlike the Continental Parties it had never accepted Marxism as its doctrine. The Second International consisting of all these various sects was shattered by the First World War. Though the International had condemned imperialist war in advance when war actually came party after party forgot its pledge and rallied round their own governments for the defence of the fatherland. This was done by the majority of the German and the French social democrats, by the British Labour

Party and by the Mensheviks. Small groups here and there and only one major socialist party, the Bolsheviks took the opposite-line of resisting war and trying to utilise it for a socialist revolution against the home government.

Q. 32. (a) Write a note on Imperialism. (b) How did it operate in Africa ?

Imperialism is a common term in the history of mankind. It is the tendency of establishing empire in distant parts of the world. In its wide sense it is the subjugation of one nation by another nation or nations either economically or politically. It emerges when the government and the governed differ in race and nationality.

From the 15th century Europe had turned her eyes upon the non-European world. And it was characterised by the Europeanisation of the world. But in the early part of the 19th century the colonial movement seemed to have lost much of its vitality. This was due to the rivalries of European nations for colonial and commercial expansion. Secondly, the bourgeoisie democratic movements led the colonies to revolt against the mother-countries. And lastly, with the growth of the Free Trade movement the very foundation of the old colonial policy based upon mercantilism was undermined.

But in the later half of the century several forces at work created a new impetus for the revival of Neo-Imperialism. Creeping degeneration within the Asiatic feudal society gave incentive to the European pressure. Behind the revival of Neo-Imperialism one can detect four incentives : economic, political, psychological and religious or ideological. First, the economic factor was the most powerful and fundamental cause of modern imperialism. The requirements of modern industries led to enormously increased demands for raw tropical products and colonies were the sources of supply. The policy of protection led to a demand for colonies. The need of colonies was also felt as outlets for expanding population. Moreover, like surplus population surplus capital

sought investment in newly opened-up countries where greater returns could be had. Second, there were also political motives which supplied powerful incentives to imperial expansion. The necessity of having naval bases and coaling stations in strategic points of the world was the powerful political motive. Colonies have a military value as well. To conserve the man-power of a nation it was found necessary to have colonies where the emigrants might remain under the allegiance of the mother-country. Thirdly, the spirit of national pride and hunger for prestige supplied a strong incentive to colonial expansion. The exuberance of patriotic pride was specially aggressive in the two new states of Italy and Germany. And along with this psychological motive of imperialism there were also religious and humanitarian considerations. The desire to spread Christianity in the heathen lands was accompanied by spreading democratic ideals in the Asiatic and African states may be said to be the last motive of imperialism.

Q. 33. (a) Discuss the Partitions of Africa in the 19th century.

(b) Trace the expansion of the British Empire in Africa during the 19th century.

Ans. Africa was a "terra incognita" as late as the mid-19th century though so near to Europe. The physical features, hygienic conditions and native population of Africa were unattractive to Europe. But the greed for mineral wealth, the pressure of population, the strategic importance of the continent, the crusade for the universal abolition of slavery—all these factors stimulated an increased interest in Africa. The European nations, moreover, being debarred from South America by the Monroe Doctrine, turned their attention to Africa. And lastly, the remarkable series of scientific explorations undertaken by Livingstone, Stanley and others revealed to the world its resources and potentialities.

Before completion of the exploration of Africa a scramble for its partition among the European powers began. It had

two important features. First, it was accomplished without a European war. Second, the partition was not a gradual process as in other continents but an extraordinarily rapid development largely due to the addition of Italy and Germany to the list of great powers.

Leopold II of Belgium was the first to take advantage of the scientific explorations of Stanley in the Congo Valley. In 1876 he summoned an international conference at Brussels. The result was the creation of a neutral state in Congo basin under the protection of the Belgian king. This led to disputes with France and Portugal. To settle these disputes a conference at Berlin was held in 1884. It recognised the existence of Congo Free State under the personal sovereignty of Leopold. The conference stipulated free trade there and laid down the rules to be followed in acquiring territory in Africa. But inhuman cruelties over native labours in these rubber countries shocked modern conscience and it became a Belgian colony subject to Belgian parliament.

Next followed a feverish rush for territory in all the regions of Africa. It was Napoleon's conquest of Egypt and the subsequent expulsion of the French therefrom by the British, that emphasized the strategic importance of Africa. France already held Algeria and she added Tunis in 1882. She then turned her attention to Morocco. In 1912 it became a French protectorate. France thus built up a huge empire on the north-west shoulder of the continent. Off the east coast of Africa she acquired the island of Madagascar in 1896 much to the annoyance of Britain.

Portugal also shared in the scramble. She expanded her decaying coastal stations south of the Belgian Congo. She also founded the colony of Mozambique. She tried to connect her eastern and western possessions by securing a belt of Portuguese territory right across Africa but British rivalry forced her to call a halt.

Italy and Germany were new-comers to Africa. Italian imperialism began in Africa when in 1883 Italy seized Eritrea on the Red Sea. Next followed the acquisition of

Italian Somaliland. Checked in Abyssinia she turned to Tripoli and snatched it away from Turkey in 1912. These two provinces became the Italian colony of Lybia.

Germany was the last great European power to enter the field. Bismarck was averse to colonial enterprises but he had to feel the pressure of rapid industrialisation. From 1884-90 four important sections of Africa were won for the German Empire. This was followed by the formal annexation of a large area which in 1884 became German South-West Africa. In the eastern coast, Germany brought under her control an extensive area in precisely the same fashion, thus forming the German East Africa.

In the partition of Africa Britain secured the lion's share which includes the best regions of the continent. In the north she controlled Egypt wherefrom she extended her sway over Sudan. The acquisitions of British East Africa followed by the establishment of protectorate over Uganda. At the southern end of the Continent in 1910 the colonies formed the Union of South Africa. Thus pushing northwards from the Cape Colony, Britain came to control an unbroken sweep of territory up to Lake Tanganyika. After the First World War, Britain obtained the mandate of the German East Africa. This extended her empire in a continuous stretch from the Cape to Cairo.

The British occupation of Egypt and Sudan was of importance to the students of the middle east. Napoleon earmarked Egypt as France's preserve. Later on France patronised Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt for her trading and financial interests. She designed and executed the Suez Canal. This increased the strategic value of the country. So when Khedive Ismail Pasha was compelled to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company, Disraeli purchased a large block of them in 1875. In 1876 Britain and France set up a Condominium or joint control of its finance. The dual control lasted for about six years. Ismail resented this foreign tutelage and so the powers procured his deposition from the Porte and made his son Khedive. This foreign domination prompted nationalist upsurge in Egypt. In 1882.

Arabi Pasha raised the cry of national self-determination. France being afraid of internal complication withdrew from the stage. Britain alone crushed the revolt. The demand for restoring order in administration and finance of the country together with the outbreak of troubles in Sudan indefinitely postponed the evacuation. Consequently Britain became the protector of Egypt in an anomalous position, exercising real control under the nominal authority of the Khedive. In 1915 British hold on Egypt was tightened when Turkey joined the Central Powers against Britain and her allies. But this led to Anglo-French rivalry as France could not forget that they were deprived of a valuable prize. Not until the Entente of 1904 was the embitterment healed.

Britain was drawn also to its dependency and hinterland Sudan. In 1884 the fanatical Mahdi movement was organised. The Egyptian troops sent against them were defeated and subsequent British intervention proved disastrous. General Gordon was killed at Khartum. In 1898 General Kitchner annihilated the power of the dervishes. It was then placed under joint Anglo-Egyptian control. • •

The Anglo-French rivalry over Egypt reached its climax by the Fashoda incident when the French sought to control the valley of the upper Nile. Capt. Marchand raised the French flag at Fashoda but was promptly warned by the British govt. to withdraw. This made the war imminent. But the dispute was settled by agreement ; France renouncing her claim to Fashoda,

31 Q Discuss the landmarks in the Catholic History.

Catholic influence reached its climax as a result of the 18th century rationalism about the time of the French Revolution. But the church was saved, firstly by the continued loyalty of the backward peasant masses practically untouched by the Age of Reason and also by the panic which seized the upper classes as a result of Jacobin impact. For example in France the fortunes of the church revived

on the failure of the Civil Constitutions and this was signalled by the Napoleonic Concordat of 1801.

From the time of the Vienna Settlement there set in a Catholic revival for at least the next half a century. This made catholicism once again a powerful force which constituted one of the bulwarks of the old regime. But it must be added that the Catholic revival never brought back the old influence in its entirety. Its historic role became more and more only like a break on the transformation of the 19th century. •

Within the Catholic church there developed two trends in this field, one attempting the readjustment of the church with the progressive forces, to some extent emphasising the adaptability of the church to the new ideas. The other trend was an assertion of its irreconcilable hostility to all modernism and the reassertion of all the ancient claims of the church.

Catholic liberalism was just seen in the Irish movement which assumed almost a revolutionary tone against English ascendancy in the Emancipation and Repeal campaigns of Daniel O'Connell. Next we have the Catholic movement in Belgium which contributed to the revolution of 1830 and Catholic liberalism in France under Lamennais. During the Italian Risorgimento Catholic liberalism found expression in Gioberti and had some influence from 1846 to 1848 on the reform policy of Pius IX. A little later the same trend with many differences appeared in Germany where the Catholics organized a political party, the famous centre which wanted to steer a middle course between reaction and democracy and which by its successful resistance to Bismarck in the Kulturkampf produced a deep impression. The old Catholics in Germany like Dr. Bollinger also stood up against typical autocracy.

But the far more important trend in the Catholic world was the tendency to assert the old claims and fight modern ideas in an uncompromising manner. This was first signalled by the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814 and by the defeat of the projected reform of Cardinal Consalvi in Papal

states. The theoretical stand of this Catholicism was defined in 1817 by Joseph-de-Maistre in France, the founder of modern Ultra-Montaine movement. The Ultra-Montaine reaction contributed to the French ultra-royalist movement and that paved the ground for the July Revolution. In Austria the reforming policy of Josephism was broken by the Ultra-Montaine revival. During the July monarchy the clerical movement in France gathered strength and Louis-Napoleon as President after 1848 and later Emperor sought clerical support to strengthen his personal ambitions. The French intervention in 1849 against the Italian liberals and the Fallosse law of 1850 handing over French education to clerical control exemplified this policy. Clerical influence led Napoleon III to stand for the Catholics in Turkey and led to the Crimean War. In Italy the liberalism of Pius IX faded away before the Ultra-Montaine tide. In the 40's in England the Anglo-Catholic movement released by the Oxford movement and immensely strengthened by the commission of Newman worked in the same way.

The conservative trend began to prevail decisively over the half-hearted liberal trend in the 3rd quarter of the century. The victorious tide of Ultra-Mountainism rallied round the papal curia. In 1854 Pius IX proclaimed a new dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary without any reference to a church council. In 1864 he published his Syllabus of Modern Errors branding all progressive thoughts of the age as unsuitable for faithful Christians. In 1870 the General Council of the church handed over all authority to the pope by the proclamation of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility. From 1860 to 1870 papal rule was preserved over unwilling Italian subjects by the French government when Rome at last passed to the Italian kingdom, the pope refused all compromise, rejected the Law of Guarantees and entered upon his self-imposed imprisonment at the Vatican.

The Catholic church had thus defined its position and subordinated the liberal trend to the conservative. It retained the affection of large number of peoples in many countries of Europe and this was reinforced by energetic

mission work all over the world. The organisation and the doctrine of Catholic church have been dwindling away ever since but one could not exaggerate the Catholic influence in recent times. Catholicism could not save its pupils from modern changes and influences. In 1805, the Catholic church was disestablished in France and in Italy, the Papal condemnation and boycott of the Italian kingdom broke down helplessly. It should be added that papal condemnation could not stop either the victorious progress of modern science or the rising tide of Socialism.

Q. 31 (a) What do mean you by the Monroe doctrine ? On what occasion in the 19th century was it enforced and with what results ?

(b) Discuss how far the policy of isolation dominated the American foreign policy in the 19th and in the 20th century before the First World War.

Ans. American Foreign Policy :—

The U. S. A. secured its independence in its War of Independence (1776—83) with the valuable help of French alliance. But as soon as the union was organised in 1782 there was a natural tendency to avoid involvement in complicated European politics which seemed unreal to the new country, situated so far off. Thus when the French Revolutionary wars began, President Washington laid down the policy of neutrality avoiding "entangling alliances." This was the source of the tradition of American isolationism and was of the utmost value in keeping out European conflicts from the new world and of procuring an opportunity for peaceful commercial development through the programme of neutral trading. Isolationism continued to dominate American foreign policy for some generations adding greatly to the building up of the strength of the country and avoiding any fraternising away of resources.

But American isolationism did not mean peace at any rate or neglect of any vital American interest. Whatever Americans might say isolationism did not proceed from any

moral idealism but was an intelligent policy in keeping with the special position of the U. S. A. This is provided by the careful guarding of American interests even at the risk of actual or potential War. In 1813—14 the U. S. A. fought its only war against Britain which was encroaching on neutral American trade through Orders in Council issued against Napoleon's Continental Blockade. In this War Britain was forced to give up restrictions in the Treaty of Ghent. Again in 1823 the U. S. A. laid down the Monroe Doctrine checking with the threat of force any further European penetration into the new world. The Monroe Doctrine was devised to secure the American enjoyment of the market of the old Spanish colonies now open to foreigners. After 1842 the U. S. A. fully participated in the opening of China by concluding treaties securing advantages, treaties not marked by much idealism or generosity. In the fifties the U. S. A. took the lead in opening Japan to the foreign impact. All these instances were supposed to accord very well with the tradition of isolationism and therefore threw much light in the nature of foreign policy in the early days.

Just as American isolationism was not the outcome of a moral idealism but an expression of a peculiar interest of the country, so the U. S. A. was not averse to the acquisition of new territories and conquests. When the U. S. A. was organised as a separate state there was already a room for expansion across what the Americans call the Wild West. The Treaty of Versailles (1783) contained a British renunciation of the practically uninhabited country of the Ohio-Mississippi valley extending to the west of the original 13 colonies. This vast area secured to the U. S. A. in 1783 now began to be settled in accordance with a pattern laid down by the N. W. Ordinance of 1787. Under this plan when a particular district attained a certain level of population it was recognised as a separate state on a footing of complete equality with the original.

The settlers came partly from the 13 colonies and partly from Europe, the latter being attracted by the great

advantages of the area from the point of view of suitable climate, fertile soil, natural resources and civilized institutions which were set up. Thus began to arise an increasing number of western states successively added to the union in the next two generations. Under these circumstances there was no need to territorial conquests at a distance.

The American western settlements were not entirely a peaceful expansion. The wave of settlements came up against the decadent but huge Spanish successor states of Mexico. In 1836 American adventurers made use of internal troubles in Mexico to promote the Separation and independence of the Republic of Texas. In 1845, Texas was added as a member state to the U. S. A. In 1846—48 there followed a Mexican war which led to the conquest from Mexico of the region called New Mexico and N. California (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo 1848). It was in this way that the U. S. A. acquired the territory to the west of the Mississippi valley. The Pacific coast line was thus attained by the middle of the 19th century and the U. S. A. extended now from ocean to ocean.

The continental domination of the U. S. A. had as its southern limit the small state of Mexico truncated by the events mentioned above. To the north of its territory extended the British dominion of Canada. The boundary between the two was peacefully settled by the Oregon Treaty of 1846 which laid down the long and artificial frontier-line. This boundary is famous as an undefended frontier made possible by the enormous extent of empty lands belonging to the two states and the tradition already established of Anglo-American friendship. This was further illustrated by the Clayton-Bulwar Treaty of 1850 which projected the construction of a Panama canal across the isthmus under joint Anglo-American auspices. The canal, however, could not be constructed in the 19th century.

Within the territory of U. S. A. there developed a struggle between the northern and southern states, over the issue of the extension of slavery to the newly established western states. The northern states developing industrially

had little use of slave labour which was suitable only for the plantation of southern economy. Thus most of the new states became free from the beginning but the southerners insisted on marking some of the new states as slave-states in order to maintain the balance within the union, as they were nervous of being completely overwhelmed in the American congress. For sometime the balance was maintained by the Missouri compromise of 1820 and California compromise of 1850. But as time rolled on the population and the importance of the free states increased till the southern states felt a great danger to the continuation of this economy and privileges. When in 1860 the newly organized Republican Party opposed to any extension of slavery gained its electoral victory under Abraham Lincoln, the southern states seceded from the union and set up a separate confederacy in 1861 with Jefferson Davis as its leader. President Lincoln refused to recognise any right to break up the union and thus began the civil war (1861—65). In the course of the war the slaves were emancipated and the southern states were defeated and forced to rejoin the Union. The Civil War preserved the union, ended slavery and made victorious the capitalist economy already established in the north.

During the Civil War, European government including the English ruling class had sympathised with the south and helped the southern privateers like the Alabama to inflict losses on the trade of the north. Some European powers notably the Second Empire seized the opportunity of interference in America and Napoleon III tried to convert Mexico into a Latin Empire. At the end of the Civil War the U. S. A. could assert the Monroe Doctrine and Mexican adventure was cut short in 1867. English government was also forced to give compensation for the losses inflicted by the Alabama and sistership. This matter was settled by the Treaty of Washington (1871) referring the question of dangers to be settled by arbitration at Geneva. The Geneva Award was an outstanding example of settling an international dispute by peaceful arbitration and it had the

further effect of restoring cordiality in Anglo-American relation.

The Civil War swept away obstacles for capitalist development in the U. S. A. and this triumph of capitalism transformed the U. S. A. into a world power. But because of abundant resources a vast continental home-market and its safety from any danger of attack the U. S. A. had no necessity to adopt the policy of aggressive imperialism. It relied on peaceful trade all over the world to secure its own prosperity. Isolationism was confirmed as a tradition.

But inspite of territorial safety, impregnable defence and extensive resources the logic of capitalist growth began to turn U. S. A. towards imperialism, though as yet it was not a naked expansionism. The beginning of the more familiar kind of imperialism came at the end of the century. In 1897 the Americans intervened in the Cuban revolt against Spain and when the American battleship *Main* was blown up in a Cuban harbour, she declared war against Spain (1898). By the treaty of 1898 Cuba was made independent of Spain and the U. S. A. got the Portorica island in the West Indies and in the China Seas the Philippines and in 1892 the Hawaii islands were also annexed. Alasca had already been purchased from Russia. Thus the U. S. A. acquired its first territories beyond its continental block.

From 1906 to 1909 Cuba was under American occupation and even after its end it remained a satellite. In 1905 a protectorate was established over San Domingo. Another acquisition completing the hold on the West Indies was St. Thomas purchased from Denmark in 1916. In another direction American power began to penetrate to the South Seas after the acquisition in 1900 of the Somali islands. In keeping with the new domineering attitude financial interest began to spread out over the whole of central and South America. This became famous as dollar imperialism in Latin America. It is also significant that in 1901 Britain was persuaded to revise the old undertaking and in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 handed over the projected Panama Canal to America alone. Round the

projected canal an independent state was made to arise in the Republic of Panama which promptly ceded to U. S. A. the strip of territory along the projected canal which was now constructed by U. S. A. and put under sole American control unlike the Suez.

Yet the U. S. A. had no need of colonial provinces and could pose as more liberal than the old imperialist powers as having no desire for sphere of influence or bases of territory. Thus in China Secretary Hay in 1900 declared for the policy of the open door and in 1910 Secretary Knox pressed for internationalisation of the foreign railways in China. The American share of the Boxer indemnities paid by China was used in educational and philanthropic enterprise to build up Sino-American cultural ties. American resistance in 1915 baffled the twenty-one demands presented by Japan to China. The Washington Conference (1922) secured the restoration by Japan of the province of Shantung to China and provided for a nine powers guarantee to China's integrity.

But all these do not prove that America was not imperialist but only that its imperialism was of a special type due to special circumstances. The U. S. A. had 'no' need of a direct colonial empire but it always participated in international affairs from the Congo Conference of 1886 which settled the pattern of the partition of Africa, to the Morocco Conference of 1905 which began the American penetration to the Mediterranean. The American financial domination over Latin America gave U. S. A. an indirect empire and American position in China together with the good will of the Chinese was another source of American profit.

This was specially illustrated when the U. S. A. was drawn into major conflict inspite of isolationist tradition. The First World War threatened American interest in European countries, menaced the friends of America in England and France and interfered with her trades. So the U. S. A. went to war to defeat the German danger. But things were not yet ripe for complete American leader-

ship. In 1919 the U. S. A. fell back on isolationism and left the League of Nations alone, though the League had been projected by Wilson's Fourteen Points and shaped at the Paris Peace Conference by Wilson himself.

Between the two world wars a financial power spread out at last to Europe. In the 20's the consistent American policy was to keep Soviet Russia isolated. American finance helped in the German revival (Dawes plan of 1924 and the Young Plan of 1929) out of German recovery arose the new danger from Hitler. Meanwhile in the Pacific area Japan became a great rival of American influence. The U. S. A. was drawn into war under President Roosevelt to meet the two challenges from Germany and Japan. The Second World War ended effectively the American isolationism.

Q. 35. (a) Discuss the Foreign policy of the United States since the Civil War.

(b) Give a picture of the American imperialism in the 20th century.

The Civil war brought far-reaching consequences in the United States of America. The constitution was amended and the rights of American citizenship were granted to Negro slaves. Sectionalism disappeared from America. The westward expansion in the trans-Mississippi region continued. It necessitated the development of the means of transportation. Industrial developments reached its climax and led to the growth of "Big businesses" and of trusts and under the stress of its competition the smaller concerns succumbed. Big corporations or combines became soon monopolistic and were followed by increased prices, labour and immigration problems. All the economic and political changes made itself felt in the foreign policy.

She abandoned the policy of isolationism or her old ideal of aloofness from world politics and stood forth to play her part as a world-power. Second, she enforced the Monroe Doctrine and enlarged its scope and extended her sphere of influence in the continent.

The Mexican adventure of Napoleon afforded an opportunity for asserting the doctrine. Napoleon III wanted to enthrone Maximilian of Austria in Mexico to safeguard the financial interests of the French investors and to convert it to his sphere of influence. But after the Civil War the United States asserted her interests and Napoleon had to withdraw his troops leaving Maximilian only to be shot by Mexican revolutionaries.

Besides France the United States asserted her claims over America against England. The ill-feeling against Great Britain originated during the Civil War. She suspected that England had not observed strict neutrality. When the war was over, she took up a strong attitude on the question of the Alabama claims against Britain and secured from her a huge amount of sterling as compensation. Moreover, Cleveland seized the opportunity of a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela to enlarge Monroe Doctrine and to challenge England's position on the Caribbean Sea. Olney demanded arbitration declaring that the United States was paramount on the American Spanish possessions in America. She still continued to deny the rights of European nations to acquire new territory or sphere of influence in the western hemisphere. She used the comfortable Monroe Doctrine to undermine the existing rights of European nations in order to further her own imperialistic ambitions. Moreover, America was introduced as a colonial power in the West Indies. The war offered her a foothold in the East and brought her into contact with the rising power of Japan. She abandoned her old policy of isolation and began to make her influence felt in world politics. This was due to the spectacular economic changes in America. The capitalists began to combine, "big businesses" sprang up, the smaller concerns succumbed and were fused into giant combinations or trusts. These trusts became monopolistic concerns and dictated government policy. Rapid growth of steel and allied industries provoked labour problems and problems of finding out ready markets all the world over. The decadence of China and Russia

produced a political vacuum in the Far East. America peremptorily battled with Japan and other European powers to fill up the vacuum in that vast region.

Extension of the Monroe Doctrine was seen in the Caribbean Sea and in central America. Cuba for whose independence she had fought Spain, became virtually an American continent. On the British government remonstrating, Cleveland announced his intention to enforce the decision of the enquiry commission even at the risk of war. Great Britain climbed down and the arbitration gave Britain most of the territory in dispute. But good relations were restored which enabled America to be victorious in the Spanish American War of 1898.

The American imperialism engaged her eyes over overseas dependencies. Political troubles in Cuba led her to strike a death blow to the Spanish American empire. Cuba revolted against Spain and was ruthlessly persecuted. The anarchy and political disorder caused serious loss to American trade and brought ruin to many American capitalists. Cleveland threatened intervention. In 1898 the *Maine*, a United States battleship was blown up in Havana. America clamoured for war and demanded Cuban independence. The naval supremacy of United States brought the war to a speedy conclusion. By the peace of Paris in 1898 Spain ceded to America Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. Cuba was declared to be an independent state under American protectorate.

American imperialism in the 20th century :

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed America as a world power. The Spanish-American war crowned her diplomacy with success dealing a death blow to the protectorate. Acquisitions of Porto Rico enabled her to control the West Indies and introduced her in the Caribbean sea and Guam and the Philippine islands offered her a foothold in the Pacific by the Peace of Paris in 1898. President Roosevelt was bent upon asserting the position of

the United States in the continent. He took up an uncompromising attitude in the boundary dispute between Canada and Alaska which was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867. He brought about a settlement in 1903 which secured to the Republic most of the claims it had put forward.

Equally strong was his attitude in regard to the control of the projected Panama canal. In 1850 England and the United States had concluded the Clayton-Bulwar treaty which provided for the joint control of the canal. But with the acquisition of colonies both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, the sole possession of the canal by the United States became essential for the rapid concentration of her fleet. Hence Roosevelt persuaded the British Government to abandon its special position by abrogating the treaty of 1850. By the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 the British Government recognised the right of the United States to construct and fortify a canal across the Panama under her own exclusive jurisdiction. But Columbia of which Panama was a province raised difficulties as to the status of the projected canal. Roosevelt brushed them aside in a high-handed manner. Panama revolted against Columbia. Its independence was hastily recognised and from Panama the required canal zone was purchased. After ten years' work the canal was completed in 1914. It shortened the route between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It gave the United States a position of peculiar influence in the Caribbean sea and Central America and immensely strengthened her status in the Pacific. Nicaragua in Central America also became a protectorate of the Union. In the name of the Monroe Doctrine the United States went to the length of intervening between bankrupt West Indian islands and their European creditors. Thus by one means or another the United States acquired colonies and coaling stations, ensured a monopoly of canal routes, set up protectorates and established financial supervision of some of the islands in the Caribbean sea.

In the 20th century the United States also began to play

her part as a world power. She readily took part in the Hague Conference of 1899 and next year took her part in the rescue of Peking Legations during the Boxer insurrection in China. In 1898 Hawaii was annexed for strategic reasons as an indispensable coaling station and naval base in the Pacific. In 1899 the United States acquired the largest of the Samoan islands by an agreement with Germany and Britain and strengthened her position in the Pacific. American commerce demanded an "open door" in China and that the Chinese Empire must not be dismembered. She came into conflict with the rising power of Japan for the control of the ready market of the Far East. The American diplomacy at last hoodwinked the Japanese imperialism. Perhaps the most striking achievement of Roosevelt was the successful offer of mediation between Russia and Japan in 1905 when these two Powers seemed to have fought each other to a stalemate. Roosevelt, however, allowed something like a diplomatic defeat to be inflicted upon Japan in spite of her military victory. There was in consequence some ill-feeling between America and Japan which was further fostered by immigration disputes with California. The tension of feeling was indicated by the despatch of an American fleet to the Pacific. The object was to terrify Japan with the military and naval might of the United States of America. The mediation of the United States in the Russo-Japanese war served to emphasize her position as a world power. Another instance of the growing world consciousness was her participation in the Moroccan question in the Algeiras Conference of 1906. It was a purely European question and the U. S. A. departed from Washington policy of isolation by avoiding entangling alliances and from the Monroe Doctrine of America for the Americans in taking part in it. Heavy pressure of industrial productions of the industrial combines with the consequent labour and population problems of capitalism dictated the government to participate in the world affairs. It became apparent that the United States had become a world power with the responsibilities that go with such position. But the balance

of power of the world was broken with the spectacular emergence of the Triple Alliance. This led to the formation of the power blocs with Germany and Austria on the one hand and the allied Powers on the other. When the great war broke out Roosevelt was outspoken in his denunciation of the German invasion of Belgium and urged the United States to intervene. But President Wilson maintained for a time, an attitude of "watchful waiting". He wanted to earn more capital by remaining neutral and one fifth of the population were sympathetic to the Germans. But the Japanese aggressions in the Far East alarmed the American industrial sector. At last abandoning the Monroe Doctrine he declared war against Germany when the latter began an unrestricted submarine warfare which led to the loss of American lives and ships on 6th April, 1917.

It was American participation on the side of the allies that decided the issue of the war. Germany was defeated and American interests in the Far East were ensured. It was President Wilson's Fourteen Points that paved the way for the early conclusion of the peace. In 1919 Wilson participated in the Peace Conference of Paris to "make the world safe for democracy." He wanted to set up a League of Nations for the amicable settlement of international disputes. He forced upon his hesitating colleagues the acceptance of the League Covenant as an integral part of the Peace Treaties. The principle of self-determination and the protection of the rights of minorities originated from the Wilsonian ideas. But the Americans refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and withdrew from the League of Nations on several grounds. First, that the treatment meted out to Germany was unduly harsh. Second, that England had reaped most of the benefits of the war while she was unable to repay her war-debts to United States. Lastly, the cry was raised that the sovereignty of U. S. A. would be compromised if her foreign policy was to be determined by the League and in future she might be involved in war in which she might have little or no interest. The tenth article which guaranteed territorial integrity to

the members was also prejudicial to the American imperialism and capitalism. Thus in 1920 the Republican President Harding came to power and repudiated the Wilsonianism. The Versailles Treaties and the League Covenant were repudiated and the foreign policy of the republicans reverted to colourless isolationism.

36 Q. (a) Discuss the causes and consequences of the Meiji Restoration.

(b) Trace the growth of Japanese imperialism in the Far East from 1895 to 1919.

(c) Why is the Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) regarded as a critical and decisive event in the history of the Far East ?

(d) Explain the importance of Korea in Sino-Japanese relations during the period 1871-95.

Awakening of Japan.

Nippon like China lived a hermit life till the 1st half of the 19th century. But the European missionaries opened doors for the military conquest of the island. The first China war of 1840 alarmed Nippon.

In 1853 Commodore Perry of America landed on the island and demanded the right to land into Japanese alliance ports for obtaining provisions. England prized the Japanese in the Pacific as she was engaged in war against Russia in Crimea. In 1867 Japan was forced to cede treaty rights to 15 mercantile states. By these they secured commercial relations, open ports, extra-territorial rights and control over the tariff.

Nippon was a feudal and militaristic state. The Mikado or Emperor was theoretically the head of the nation. He lived a secluded life in Kyoto. The Shogun, the chief officer of the Mikado had usurped the monarchical authority. Beneath the Shogun were the 'Daimios' or the feudal lords who formed the military aristocracy in the state. They had their retainers, the Samurai or class of warriors. The

Samurai was bound to his Daimio by the strongest ties of personal devotion. Although the Shogun was the real authority he had to reckon with the great feudatories backed by the Samurai.

The foreign impact produced reaction within the political and social frame-work of Japan which took shape in the revolution of 1867. Agitation against the Shogunate system came to the forefront with the launching of a strong anti-foreign movement. Feudal lords were bitterly hostile to the "European barbarians" and determined to take action against them. But the bombardment of Kago-shima by a British squadron and of Shimonoseki (1864) demonstrated the futility of any attempt to shut out the westerners without recouping her power to protect herself. Thus the feudal lords demanded abolition of the Shogunate and the imperial authority restored an adoption of the western ideas in all spheres of the Japanese life. Thus in 1868 Emperor Mutshuhito was installed at Yedo or Tokyo and the Meiji Restoration was the initial step of the remarkable internal transformation of Japan. The next step towards centralisation was the abolition of feudalism. The old feudal army was substituted by national army recruited from all ranks of society. The invidious social gradation was annulled and all the subjects of the Emperor were recognised as equals legally. Moreover, Japan adopted western methods in all spheres of her life. In 1889 Prince Ito framed a new constitution after wide investigation based on the model of Prussia. Under the new constitution (1) the Emperor was the supreme head of the state and the source of all authority, (2) He was to carry on the government with the help of a Diet which was to be a representative assembly consisting of two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. (3) The ministers of the state were to be appointed by him and they were to be responsible to him and not to the Diet. Second; the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by foreigners were extremely distasteful to the Japanese. The new government built up new (1) legal codes modelled upon those of France

and Prussia. (2) Legal equality was established and new legal systems were codified. (3) This knocked out the bottom of extra-territoriality. Alongside of these political developments there were significant reforms in other aspects of national life. In 1872 the Japanese adopted (1) the principle of compulsory elementary education for all children. (2) Western education and culture was introduced. (3) Universities and technical schools were founded under state supervision and (4) great emphasis was laid on vocational education. (5) Foreign teachers were invited to the country and the English language was made compulsory. Thirdly, the military organisation was thoroughly overhauled. (1) The army was nationalised and compulsory military service introduced (3) The army was equipped with modern weapons and reorganized on German lines. (3) Steps were taken to build a navy and to organise it on the British model. Prince Yamagata was responsible for the military reorganisation. And lastly, spectacular economic reforms were introduced. (1) In an amazingly short time Japan equipped herself with railways, telegraphs, postal facilities, steamships, docks and harbours. (2) Mines were developed and new industries involving machinery and large-scale production were introduced. (3) The currency was reformed and the banking system developed. (4) Foreign commerce began to increase by leaps and bounds.

Rejuvenated and modernised Japan began to develop an aggressive foreign policy. First, she sought to remove the badge of inferiority imposed upon her by the 'unequal treaties' which she had been compelled to make with the western powers. In 1871 she sent an embassy to Europe to obtain a modification of the treaties but to no purpose. Hence, the considerations of self-respect and of self-defence led Japan to adopt a vigorous foreign policy. Moreover, industrial development of Japan inevitably led her to expand her foreign commerce and search out for new markets. She tried to fill up the vacuum in the Far East which was created by the decadence of the Chinese empire. In 1872 like a

veritable European power, Japan claimed a share in the spoliation of the Chinese Empire by demanding treaty relations. Two years later she quarrelled with China and compelled her to relinquish her claim to suzerainty over the Loochoo islands and brought them under her rule. Japan then began to annex lands after lands until she provoked a war with China by her continual interference in the affairs of Korea. Korea's strategic position attracted Japan's notice. China did not exercise effective suzerainty over Korea. It was a citadel of internal disorders and misgovernment. Japan looked with apprehension at the prospect of the possible establishment of a European or particularly of the Russian overlordship in Korea. So her object was to introduce necessary reforms in Korea so that the country might be strong enough to defend itself against foreign aggression. In 1876 Japan took the lead in opening Korea to the outside world. In order to forestall the Russian aggression like a dagger pointed at her own heart, Japan strengthened the hands of the reformist progressive Party. But China disliked the activity of the "island dwarfs" and sought to check them by supporting the cause of the reactionary party. In 1885 an agreement between China and Japan was reached which recognised joint interests of both the powers in Korea. In 1894 an internal revolt broke out and China proceeded to crush the rebellion. Japan also countered by sending large detachment of troops. China was compelled to sue the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895. (1) By it China recognised the complete independence of Korea; (2) ceded the Liaotung peninsula in southern Manchuria to Japan; (3) gave her Formosa and the Pescadores group of islands; (4) and agreed to pay a large indemnity and to (5) open up four new ports to foreign trade. Japan's rising military powers was amply vindicated before the eyes of the European nations in the Far East.

The Sino-Japanese war was rich with far-reaching consequences in the history of the Far East. First, it demonstrated beyond doubt the weakness of China and thereby exposed her to increased spoliation by the European

powers. Secondly, it completely undermined the balance of power in the Far East. Posing as China's friend Russia backed by France and Germany, called upon Japan to surrender the Liaotung peninsula including Port Arthur. Then the three self-constituted friends of China fell to helping themselves to large slices of Chinese territory under the cover of leases and concessions. Thirdly, its effect on Japan was far-reaching, it greatly increased the prestige of Japan and enabled her to free herself from the unequal treaties imposed upon her by the European power, it stimulated Japanese imperialism and thereby introduced a new factor in the Far Eastern politics. Yellow peril perturbed the European aggression on Asia. And lastly, the collision between Russia and Japan became inevitable. Russian expansion in the Far East alarmed England and consequently led to the establishment of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The inevitable result was the Russo-Japanese war of 1904.

The fundamental cause of the Russo-Japanese war was the clash of expansionist policy of two powers. Russia secured from China a lease of the Liaotung peninsula including Port Arthur—the territory which was ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. These concessions gave her a dominant position in Manchuria from which she could threaten Japan's interests in Korea. Russia attempted to tighten her holds on Manchuria and refused to treat with Japan on the Manchurian question. Japan was resolved to fight unless she could get definite assurances against Russian interference in Korean affairs and Russian aggression in China. Russian refusal to give definite pledges led to the formation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 aiming at maintaining status quo and territorial integrity of China and Korea. Russia next accepted the Chinese proposal for evacuating Manchuria but attached certain conditions which showed her unwillingness to withdraw from Manchuria. Thereupon Japan severed her diplomatic relations with Russia and the war began in Feb. 1904. The battle of Mukden and the naval victory of Japan at Tsushima decided the fate of the war. In 1905 the Treaty of Portsmouth was

concluded between Japan and Russia through the mediation of U. S. A. By it Russia (1) recognised the claims of Japan in Korea, (2) transferred to her the lease of the Liaotung peninsula, ceded the southern half of the island of Sakhalin and (4) agreed to evacuate Manchuria. The paradox of the Russian defeat can be explained by analysing its causes. First Russia attached no importance to the rising power of Japan. Second, it was due to internal exhaustion of Russia. Third, it demonstrated the modernised military might of Japan. Fourth, Japan was fully alive and prepared to fight the inevitable contest. In Russia, in Japan, in China, in Europe also the Russo-Japanese war produced its effects. First, the Russo-Japanese war profoundly affected European politics. By weakening Russia it paved the way for the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 by which the long-standing rivalry of the two nations over their Asiatic interests were made up. (2) Austria took advantage of Russia's weakness to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus was Russian attention redrawn to the Balkans and Near Eastern affairs. (3) At home, the war weakened the position of the Romanoff dynasty and helped to bring about its downfall. But in the Far Eastern politics its effects were momentous. First, it stimulated reforming zeal of China to recoup her power in order to repel European aggression. It led to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1912. Second, it raised the prestige of Japan and stimulated her imperialism. She extended her hands towards China as its saviour from the European aggression. And lastly, the entrance of U. S. A. on the Far Eastern platform led to the regrouping of powers. The United States gradually became the rival of Japan in the Pacific.

Having forced the withdrawal of Russia from Korea, Japan began to interfere in the Korean affairs and annexed that kingdom outright in 1910. Next Japan took the full advantage of the First World War to realise her imperial ambitions. As an ally of Britain she declared war against Germany and seized Kiao-Chao and the German concessions. Thereby she firmly installed herself in Shantung.

Next in 1915 by a forty-eight hours' ultimatum she forced upon China the famous 'Twenty one Demands' which not only gave her practical control over Manchuria but established a virtual protectorate over China. It sought to close China to the European nations. The Treaty of Versailles recognised Japan as the heir of Germany in regard to all rights and possessions in China. In 1917 the allied powers tightened by the German submarine attacks sought naval help of Japan. Japan helped them on condition that they would ratify Japan's new acquisitions. In 1917 by Lansing Isii agreement the United States also recognised Japan's demands over Shantung.

Thus the Peace Treaty of Versailles 1919 marked the peak of the first era of Japanese imperialism.

After the First World War Germany defeated Russia, engaged in her domestic affairs and the European powers left Japan to fight her last contest with another power for the domination of the Far East.

(1) Capitalist developments in both nations with (2) heavy output of armaments with the consequent (3) emergence of labour and population problems caused friction between Japan and U.S.A. The resulting estrangement was heightened by the immigration question. U. S. A. sought to restrict Japanese immigration to America which was intensifying her labour problems. For the time being in 1907 by a gentleman's agreement Japan agreed to stop immigration of the Japanese population. But conflict of interests in China began to embitter relations between two powers. To avert the impending clash of bullets and to stop competition in naval construction the Washington Conference of 1921—22 was convened. It decided two problems :—

(a) The limitation of naval armaments and (b) a resolution of the conflicting interests of the Powers in the Pacific area. Treaties were concluded which fixed the naval ratio of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy in the Far East. But this assured to Japan a naval superiority in the Far East which it would be very difficult to challenge. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was allowed to lapse and a

Four-Power Treaty was signed. This treaty was designed to ensure the status quo in the Far East and thus to remove the danger of a war in that region. With regard to China a Nine-Power Treaty was concluded, by which the signatories agreed to accept the principle of "Open Door" and to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and administrative independence of China. Japan restored Shantung to China and a treaty between Japan and America removed causes of friction between the two countries temporarily. But inspite of these attempts to check Japan she continued to be the bugbear of the Pacific.

For about ten years after the Washington's Conference she adopted a conciliatory attitude towards China due to several reasons. First, Japan wanted to tighten her holds on the acquisitions which she acquired by 21 demands from China. Second, in the Pacific region the other powers were strengthening their fortifications on important naval bases. Japan did not want to disturb them. Third, the collapse of the Anglo-Japanese alliance led to a belief in Japan that aggression might complicate international relations. And lastly, as a signatory of the League of Nations Japan could not declare war for the national prestige. But after 1930 militarists of Japan advocated a forward policy on four grounds. First, In China two parties—the Kuomintang and communists were engaged in civil strife. Japan decided to strike a decisive blow before China was united and rejuvenated. Second, victory of Communist Party in China thought to be meant an increase of influence of Soviet Russia, Japan wanted to forestall Russian expansion. Thirdly, the pressure of the Japanese population and expanding manufactures and increasing militarism forced her hands to extend towards Manchuria. And lastly, there was the economic motive of Japan's imperialism. Japan looked to China for the supply of raw materials and as a market for her industrial products, In 1931 the Mukden incident led to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. China appealed to the League of Nations and urged the United States to invoke the Kellogg-Briand Pact which had declared for the

renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. The League sent the Lytton commission which suggested that Manchuria be made an autonomous province under Chinese Suzerainty. American protest was characterised by the Stimson doctrine. Japan disregarded suggestions and withdrew from the League thus paving the way for the Second World War.

Japan now became increasingly emphatic in asserting her special interests in China and posed herself in 1934 as the guardian of the peace in the Far East. It declared, 'it would oppose any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan.' This Japanese Monroe Doctrine was ostensibly designed to protect China against the imperialism of the western Powers. The militarists of Japan were dreaming of a Far East dominated by their country. This was the "new order" which she wanted to set up and the idea was further developed in her later scheme known as the "co-prosperity sphere." In this "new order" Japan sought to establish throughout Eastern Asia an economic system in which she was to exercise dominant control. Another item of the programme was to set up puppet governments subservient to Japan in the Far Eastern countries.

The result was the second Sino-Japanese war of 1937. In July 1937 The Marco Polo incident gave the desired pretext to declare war against China. China gave a strong resistance at Shanghai but at last Chiang-kaishek retreated to Chungking. At Nanking Japan set up a puppet national government in 1940. Divided China between the Kuomintang and communists failed to resist Japan. But U. S. A entered into emphatic protests against Japan's aggressions on China. When the Second World War broke out and the hold of Britain, France and Holland on their colonial possessions in Eastern Asia became shaky, Japan strengthened her position by an alliance with Germany and Italy. Moreover, Mutsouka visited Moscow and concluded a neutrality pact with Russia. The U. S. A. was compelled to stiffen her attitude towards Japan. In 1940 she imposed an embargo

on the export of scrap-iron and petroleum to Japan and refused to recognise the puppet Nanking government of 1940. U. S. A. became perturbed when France permitted Japan to use its air fields in 1941. But attempts were made to arrive at a compromise but the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 on 7th December ended all negotiations. The European war thus developed into a global conflict.

Germany surrendered in 1945. The allied powers in July 1945 by the Potsdam Declaration called upon the Japanese government "to proclaim the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces." On 14th August 1945 Japan was forced to sue for unconditional surrender.

Q. 37, (a) Account for the fall of the Manchu Empire in China.

(b) To what extent was there an awakening in China as a result of Western impact in the 19th century ?

(c) Trace the history of China from the mid-19th century upto the Kuomintang regime. Account for the fall of the Kuomintang regime in China.

(d) "Whatever path China may take in the future, she will do so in the name of Sun-Yat-sen—"Explain this general reverence in China for Dr. Sun.

Ans. Asia felt the impact of European aggression from the 15th century as the result of the geographical discoveries. In the course of the European expansion in early modern times, traders and missionaries arrived in China and Japan. But after a little experience of the westerners both the countries shut the door against them. The only foreign intercourse permitted was the existence of the Portuguese near Canton and the permission by the Japanese of the limited trading facility to the Dutch at Nagasaki. The Europeans traded further with Canton and Nagasaki under various restrictions and humiliations. Thus at Canton only a few Chinese merchants constituting the Hong could legally trade with the foreigners.

The English East India Company exploited to the full, however, the window at Canton. It began to import from

India opium and hoarded it in Canton, in spite of Chinese prohibitions. In 1833 the Company lost its monopoly over the China trade which was thrown open to all English merchants by the Charter Act. One consequence was the official British responsibility for the merchants at Canton illustrated by the mission of Lord Napier whom the Chinese officials described as the headman of the barbarians,

Another consequence was enormous extension of the opium trade. Alarmed by the injurious effect of opium smuggling the imperial Chinese government prohibited opium import and in 1839 commissioner Lin was sent to Canton to suppress smuggling and to exterminate the traffic in opium. Lin's harsh measures to extinguish the traffic led to acts of violence on both sides. Out of this situation war broke out in 1840. Palmerston rallied to the support of the British merchants. The first China war was called the opium war by the critics of Palmerston. In 1842 the treaty of Nanking was imposed on China. (1) Hongkong was ceded to England (2) five treaty-ports were opened to European trade, (3) the Hong was abolished, (4) foreigners were permitted to trade with the Chinese on equal ranks, (5) the tariff on European goods was permanently fixed at a low level. Following the Treaty of Nanking, the Americans imposed a treaty which secured for foreigners in China (1) extra-territorial rights, that is exemption from the jurisdiction of native courts. By 1844 the French imperial power imposed a treaty which secured the toleration of the Christian missions. These treaties in the early forties constituted the beginning of the process of opening up China. Moreover, the Taiping rebellion of 1851—'63, only could be suppressed by the Chinese government with foreign help. The price given was the establishment of foreign concessions in the treaty ports, namely the handing over of certain areas to foreign municipal control. The maritime service was now placed under foreign control with the sole right of collecting tariff duties out of which the claims of the foreign governments were to be first satisfied,

The Opium War revealed the weakness of China. The

foreigner's commercial greed, reinforced by the consciousness of superior strength produced an aggressive frame of mind. The Second China war was fought in two stages between 1850 and 1860 joined by Britain and France against China. By the double Treaties of Tientsin, one made with England and the other with France—the desired extension of privileges was obtained. The peace treaties opened (1) eleven new treaty ports. (2) legalised opium import, (3) permitted the penetration of the missionaries within China and (4) set up foreign station at Peking.

The Third China war was fought by France in 1884-85 and met the loss of Indo-China. Meanwhile the foreigners had forced Japan also. The Americans took the initiative and secured the opening of the treaty ports in 1864 and extra-territoriality and the fixed tariff in 1858 but unlike China, the reaction in Japan was different and in 1868 there took place a restoration of the Meiji i. e. a momentous transformation from the feudal state to an industrial nation occurred in Japan.

China could not show the same vitality which manifested itself in Japan. Foreign aggression, on the one hand and bankruptcy of the 'celestial empire' on the other provoked tremendous reaction among the Chinese. The Taiping rebellion prematurely attempted to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. The movement compound of religious mysticism and a vague political objective lacked any large scale popular support. Moreover, the foreigners, especially the British rushed to repel the rebels and thereby perpetuated the dynasty only to extort concessions for it as rewards. But the revolt signalled the fall of the Manchu dynasty and prepared grounds for revolutionary movement.

But the Manchu dynasty could not be overthrown due to the personality of Tzu-ksi, the dowager empress. Her policy was extremely reactionary and she failed to appreciate the significance of the new forces which were invading China from the outside world. Hence although she for a time bolstered up the tottering fortunes of the Manchu dynasty, her policy hastened its downfall.

But her rule could not save China from economic exploitation by the foreigners. Within 30 years from the Treaties of Tientsin almost all the European nations joined in the scramble. By the Cheefoo agreement four other ports were thrown open and British privileges considerably extended. To the economic exploitation was added political aggression. Her outlying dependencies began to be snatched away from her. Russia, Japan and the United States came to contest for the occupation of the vacuum.

Japan signalised her conversion to European civilization by seizing^g the Loochoo islands and extended her hands towards Korea. But the laxity of Chinese control over and disorders in Korea tempted the Europeans, specially Russia to fish in its troubled waters. This possibility of foreign occupation of Korea forced her to a war upon China completely defeated her and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) compelled her to renounce her suzerainty over Korea.

The treaty is significant from various standpoints. (1) It started Japan's imperial career. (2) It drew near Russia to contest with Japan for her supremacy over China. (3) It revealed China's helpless weakness and the problem of maintaining balance of power came to the forefront. Last, China herself began to recoup her power and a gradual transformation took place. The period of three-power intervention dawned and consequent to the friendly advice of these powers Japan was forced to return some of her covetous prizes. Russia and France supplied loans to China and in return secured valuable economic concessions. Russia obtained a lease of Port Arthur and she could extend her trans-Siberian railways across Manchuria. The policy of establishing "spheres of influence" of different European States was nothing but a thinly veiled attempt at partitioning the Chinese Empire.

But the "Celestial Empire" was saved from impending dissolution due to protest from within and without. First, the "open door" doctrine of the United States did much to prevent the dismemberment of China. It declared that the powers in their "spheres of influence" should maintain an

open market and allow equal opportunity for trade to all nations. As the U. S. A did not want to have an empire, her plea was a substitution of international co-operation for international competition. The other development which saved China was the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. The Russian encroachment in the Far East led to this unusual alliance. Emboldened Japan forced Russia to evacuate Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese war. But Japan could not reap the full advantage due to timely intervention of the United States.

The protest against foreign exploitation also came from within. The Boxer rising launched an anti-foreign agitation. Empress Tzu-hsi cancelled all her reform edicts (1898). Christian missionaries were murdered and the German Legation was besieged in 1900. The foreign forces relieved the siege. The rising collapsed but China had to pay a heavy indemnity and to agree to the establishment of a foreign garrison in North China and to concede additional privileges to European commerce. It served as a danger signal to the Western power and served as a genuine safeguard to the integrity of China. After the Sino-Japanese war she realised the necessity of remodelling her institutions on western lines. Young China movement aimed at reform and westernization. (1) In 1898 reforming edicts were issued within hundred days ordering schools and colleges to be set up for European learning, (2) establishing a department for the translation, (3) encouraging foreign travels and (4) reorganising the army and the civil service. But Empress Tzu-shi headed reactionary party, cancelled the edicts. But the failure of the Boxer rising also registered the failure of reactions. The Empress was converted to the cause of reforms. The opium traffic was prohibited and China was promised a parliamentary constitution in 1917.

But these reforms could not satisfy the Young China Party. Chinese nationalism got an impetus after Russo-Japanese war. Anti-Manchu agitation developed, Sun-Yat-Sen organised a republican movement. In 1910 the

National Assembly was summoned and offered sweeping concessions including the grant of constitutional government of the parliamentary type. In 1911 the republicans made Nanking the provisional republic, Sun-Yat-Sen became the President. In Feb. 1912 the last Manchu emperor abdicated the throne and a republic was proclaimed over China. Dr. Sun resigned his office in favour of Yuan-shi-kai, an able general and politician. But Yuan-shi-kai sought to strengthen his position with the help of foreign powers by offering to guarantee the "unequal treaties". His autocratic tendencies tending towards monarchic absolutism angered the republicans. He, however, died in 1916. But the fall of the Manchu dynasty was not far to seek. First, weakness of the Manchus joined hands with governmental inefficiency. Secondly, government was discredited by repeated defeats at the hands of foreigners. Thirdly, reactionary role of the Empress Tzu-shi was no less responsible for the fall. Fourthly, development of trade and industry and a new lower middle class came to the forefront and republican agitation was responsible for the fall of the Manchus. Lastly, able leadership of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was also another factor.

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China since 1914

The new China had to confront a difficult situation with the First World War. The European powers were preoccupied in waging war against Germany. This gave Japan a splendid opportunity to bring China under her control. Japan put forward her twenty one demands. This indirectly would bring China under her protection. The United States and other powers protested against. By the modified demands Japan at last forced her to cede economic and police concessions in Manchuria. The war also compelled the powers to recognise Japan's claims on Chinese territories. To cap the climax, the United States by what is known as the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, recognised that Japan had special interests in China. China joined the allies against Germany in August 1917. It brought her some tangible advantages.

First, she managed to secure a substantial revision of the tariff in her favour. Second, she was able to resume control of the German and Austrian treaty ports. Third, she was able to cancel the German and Austrian shares of the Boxer indemnity. Lastly, she was assured a seat at the Peace Conference. But on the other hand, China's financial difficulties led Japan to tighten the economic hold on China. At the Peace Conference Sino-Japanese disagreements reached an acute stage. Anti-Japanese agitation flared up in China. The Peking government demanded the restoration of Shantung.

Protests came against the gradual encroachment of Japan within China not only from within but from without also. The Washington Conference 1921—22 was summoned by the United States to consider the problem of the limitation of naval armaments and the settlement of the conflicting interests of the Powers in the Pacific and the Far East. The principle of 'open door' in China checked Japanese control over China and Japan restored Shantung to China. It thus registered an advance in China's international status.

Within China this period was characterised by disorder and chaos. The Tughans or military governors of the north ruthlessly exploited the territory. Out of this chaos a revived Kuomintang elected Sun-Yat-Sen as President of the Chinese Republic. He recognised the Kuomintang with Russian help. The army was reorganised and a military academy was founded. By a treaty with China Russia gave up her extra-territorial rights in China in return for diplomatic recognition and renewal of trade relations.

The revolutionary philosophy of Sun-Yat-Sen was based on his 'three Principles of the People' in which he propounded the programme and principles of his party. First, China should achieve nationalism and be hostile to those who threaten the integrity of the state. Second, China should achieve democracy in three stages. The First was military government, the second was to be a period of political tutelage under the party, the third stage was the constitutional regime with a popularly elected Parliament

and President. The third principle was the peoples' livelihood. He pleaded for social justice. Sun-Yat-Sen died in Peking in March 1925.

Under the leadership of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen spectacular changes occurred in the method and scope of education. (1) Educational institutions were established. (2) Hu shih developed the spoken language. (3) Educationist Yen inaugurated mass education movement. Among the social changes the (1) family system declined. Consequently (2), emancipation of women took place. (3) The people became more and more sceptic about their old religions. (4) Confucianism and Taoism declined as religious systems.

After the passing away of Dr. Sun the leadership fell on the nationalist leader Chiang-kai-shek. Born in 1888 Chiang obtained military training at Tokyo and Russia. He wanted to unify China by bringing the distracted north under the control of the nationalists which was ruled by a dozen of warlords. He carried on ceaseless propaganda against the northern militarists and foreign imperialists. But the progress in the Kuomintang was checked by a split in the ranks of the Kuomintang. The pro-communist section of the nationalist army wanted to embroil Chiang with foreign powers. The Nanking affair of March 1927 roused indignation of foreign powers and led to the Japanese invasion. This forced Chiang to stop onward march and broke off relations with the Russian communists (1927). But restoring order he was able to unify China under the nationalist regime.

After unifying China under the national government Chiang wanted to put the principles and programme of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen into practice. China was placed under the stage of political tutelage under a single party. The highest administrative organ was to be a State Council whose chairman was to be the head of the state. Five main divisions of the government; executive, legislative, judicial, examining and control, each represented by what was called a Yuan, were co-ordinated and controlled by the Council of State.

The nationalist government had a good record of achievements to its credit. China constructed many roads and facilitated communication system. Chinese-owned factories were built and a great stimulus was given to the manufacture of cotton textiles. Popular education was fostered. New codes of law and of procedure were introduced and prisons were reformed. Foreign experts were invited to recommend programmes of national reconstruction. Chiang's programme was one of social reform and not of revolution which the communists demanded. The Communists denounced his domestic policy as it did not aim at meeting the need for the livelihood of the impoverished masses but his government was based on the support of the capitalist class.

But Chiang's greatest achievements were in the field of foreign affairs. He secured official recognition of his government by the foreign powers. In 1927 he broke away from the Russian communists. By 1930 the United States, Japan and most of the western powers agreed to the resumption of tariff autonomy by China. Chiang then proceeded to terminate extra-territorial rights of the European powers. But the implementation of this mandate was postponed by the Japanese aggression in Manchuria.

But the nationalist government's foreign and domestic policy provoked tremendous opposition. Within China the Communists challenged the Nationalist regime. Outside, trouble with Russia came to the forefront and all Japanese invasion of Manchuria embarrassed the Nationalist government.

Within China the rise of the Communist Party could be traced back to the revolution of 1917. Communist literature appealed to the intellectuals and similar societies began to spring up at Peking and Shanghai. In 1921 the Party was definitely established at Shanghai. It was at this period that the career of Mao-Tse-Tung unfolded itself. (1) The programme first laid down by the party included the elimination of the warlords, (2) resistance to foreign imperialism and (3) Chinese unity. The Communists co-operated

with the Kuomintang in order to convert it to their views. Dr. Sun was able to maintain a balance and he invited a Russian agent to reorganise his party. But under Chiang's regime relations with them became strained and lastly, the Nanking affair led to the final breach with the Chinese Communists. Chiang began a strong anti-Communist drive in 1927. The Communists were driven to the south in Kiangsi. There they gained the confidence of the peasantry and managed to maintain themselves against the provincial military forces. Mao became the chairman of the Chinese government which was established at Kiangsi and Chu Teh its commander-in-chief.

The communists became soon popular in sovietised areas. Lands were distributed among the peasantry. Improved means of cultivation were adopted. Irrigation and flood prevention works were undertaken. In 1933 Chiang undertook campaigns against the Communists in Kiangsi. Realising the danger the Communists under Mao and Chu Teh with his forces started on their memorable Long March to join the communists of the north west. With terrible suffering at last they reached Yenan where the people were sympathetic to the communists.

But the Japanese invasion on the coastal areas brought temporary union between the Communists and Kuomintang. Though Chiang was more bent on extirminating the Reds but under pressure of his subordinates he had to give way. In 1938 the Kuomintang with others set up the Peoples Political Council to present joint front against Japan.

With Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 the Sino-Japanese war entered upon a new stage. The United States was also eager to dislodge Japan from the predominant position in the Pacific. Rapid industrialisation under giant monopolistic corporations led her to come out of her Monroe doctrine. She was now bent on controlling the Pacific area for her monopolistic commercial activities as the arsenal of democracy. Japan sealed China from reaching any help from the allied powers. Chiang was driven back to take refuge in Chungking. But with the help of the allies China retained

their morale and offered desperate resistance. Consequently the Japanese plan of establishing hegemony over Eastern Asia could not be materialised. This fact prompted the United States and Great Britain to sign treaties with China abolishing their extra-territorial rights and special privileges. This greatly improved China's international status. Chiang joined the conference of Cairo in 1943 to settle the conditions to be imposed on Japan in the event of her defeat. The Second World War ended the Japanese predominance in the Pacific. America placed her control over Japan. This gave America to play freely in the Chinese politics.

But victory of the communists turned the flag in the other direction. The collapse of Japan widened the gulf between the communists and the Kuomintang. The American government made several attempts to bring the two parties together ineffectively. The struggle for power between the two parties began in Manchuria in 1946. The Nationalists in spite of substantial help from the United States suffered a succession of military defeats. The Nationalists were compelled to take shelter in Formosa where they were protected by America. On October 1, 1949 the people's Republic of China was proclaimed with Mao-Tse-Tung as Chairman. The Soviet Russia promptly recognised the government of China. This marked the worst reverse in foreign affairs of America.

Communist ideas reached China through Russia. The two governments concluded defensive alliance in 1949. In 1953 Russia agreed to give China economic assistance for China's reconstruction. Moreover, Russia was in favour of taking China to the United Nations. There is no denying the fact that there is predominant Russian influence in China. But China was not a tool in the hands of Russia. In 1950 treaty China extracted from her a promise to surrender her rights in Manchuria. In many cases China deviated from the Russian path,

The causes of communist success was not far to seek. First, Japan's aggression weakened the Nationalists. Secondly, they lost support of the general people due to

economic difficulties and exhaustion. Thirdly, the government was discredited by corruption in Chiang's government. And lastly, the zeal and sincerity of the communists won the sympathy of the mass of the people.
